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THE
STUDY OF THE BIBLE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES



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THE
STUDY OF THE BIBLE
IN THE MIDDLE AGES

BY
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PREFACE

A BOOK so ambitious in scope as this one could only be produced as a result of collaboration: I am very grateful to all who have helped. My especial debts are to Prof. F. M. Powicke, to the late Mgr. George Lacombe, to Dom André Wilmart and the Benedictines of Mont César, to Fr. Daniel Callus and Fr. Thomas Gilby, O.P., to Dr. Eleanor Rathbone, and to Dr. R. W. Hunt who contributed criticism and information to each section as it was written. The late Dr. H. Kantorowicz kindly wrote a note on legal and medical glosses, for purposes of comparison, which has been included in Chapter II. ii. For the Jewish sources of the Victorines I depended on the collaboration of the Rabbi Dr. L. Rabinowitz, for the Hebrew material in Chapter VI. iii on that of the late Mr. H. Loewe, who first realized the importance of the Lambeth Psalter and arranged for our work on it. Dr. N. Rubinstein has made the indexes.

The Jex-Blake research fellowship at Girton College enabled me to undertake the writing of the book, and the kindness of the Fellows in extending their hospitality for two years enabled me to finish. The Council of Trinity College, Cambridge, generously made me a year's grant from the Birkbeck lecture fund to work on the Hebrew-Latin Psalter in the College Library with Mr. Loewe. A grant from the Hort fund covered the expenses of photography.

The book is dedicated to Mrs. K. Leys of St. Hilda's College, who introduced me to historical research.

I have to thank Mr. J. P. R. Lyell for allowing me to photograph a manuscript of the *Gloss* on St. John in his collection for Plate I. This manuscript is important as it considerably strengthens the case for ascribing the compilation of the *Gloss* on St. John to Anselm of Laon. Unfortunately I did not see it in time to mention it in the text. Plate II is reproduced from my pamphlet on Hebrew-Latin Psalters, with acknowledgements to the publishers, Messrs. Shapiro, Vallentine & Co.

The war has prevented me from checking my references to many manuscripts. Two of my transcripts from MS. Pembroke College, Cambridge 45, are lost, and the volume is now inaccessible; so no Latin text can be given for the translations on pp. 110-11, 119-20. Since my

translations are intentionally free I give the Latin text in full, either in a footnote or in the appendix, wherever I am quoting from an unpublished source. Much of the ground has been covered already in a series of very technical articles which I have written during the last ten years. I have not duplicated references or reproduced the Latin of passages quoted from manuscripts in my articles, in order to economize space. I have omitted to give a bibliography for the same reason. A full bibliography for so wide a subject would be a book in itself. A selective list of important and relevant works will be found in the footnotes. Similarly the indexes are intended as a working guide and do not aim at completeness.

B. S.

ST. HILDA'S COLLEGE,
OXFORD

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- II. MS. Lambeth 435 (f^o 21^r): a Hebrew Psalter with a gloss in Latin and Anglo-Norman. The gloss was written by an anonymous English scholar, about the middle of the thirteenth century. The plate shows, near the top of the right hand margin, his transcription of the Tetragrammaton as IAHAVE. *facing p. 256*

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>C.S.E.L.</i>	<i>Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum.</i>
<i>M.G.H.</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica.</i>
<i>P.L.</i>	Migne, <i>Patrologia Latina.</i>
<i>Quam notitiam</i>	S. Berger, <i>Quam notitiam linguae Hebraicae habuerint Christiani mediæ ævi temporibus in Gallia</i> (Paris, Nancy, 1893).
<i>Rech. Théol. anc. méd.</i>	<i>Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale.</i>
<i>Rev. Bén.</i>	<i>Revue Bénédictine.</i>
<i>Spic. Sac. Lov.</i>	<i>Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense.</i>
'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses' B. Smalley, 'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses of Scripture', <i>Speculum</i> , vi (1931), 60-76.	
'Studies on the Commentaries' G. Lacombe and B. Smalley, 'Studies on the Commentaries of Cardinal Stephen Langton', <i>Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge</i> , v (1931), 1-220.	

INTRODUCTION

THE Bible was the most studied book of the middle ages. Bible study represented the highest branch of learning. The Venerable Bede was better known for his commentaries on Scripture than for his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. When St. Boniface, apostle of Germany, 'famous keeper of the celestial library', called Bede the 'candle of the Church', he must have seen

. . . bright candles
over the holy white scriptures.¹

Bede himself put his commentaries on Scripture first in the list of his works; and he was typical. Many of the men of letters whom we remember for other reasons, as Stephen Langton for *Magna Carta*, were also famous as biblical scholars. We must add the host of obscurer persons, the monks, canons, friars, and secular masters who expounded Scripture in the cloister or the school. Their biblical commentaries and aids to study account for a good proportion of the monastic or cathedral library.

Yet this is probably the most neglected aspect of medieval thought. Historians have reversed Bede's estimate of his writings. Commentaries come last on the list of subjects which interest them. Although they have been reproached recently with preferring quantity to quality in their choice of material,² even the great quantity of works on the Bible has never attracted their attention. The bulk of it, for the eleventh century and after, is still unprinted. With very rare exceptions, such editions as exist are old and uncritical. The student soon learns that he cannot trust either the printed text or its supposed authorship. His safest rule is never on any account to quote from a medieval commentary without first verifying for himself who wrote it or when it was written. If he fails to take these precautions his work will be worthless. If he takes them his progress will be slow.

He has no adequate reference book to guide him. Some specialist articles lie hidden in periodicals and *Festschriften*; but for a general view his classic is still the two *Histoires*

¹ From a ninth-century Irish hermit poem, trans. K. Jackson, *Studies in Early Celtic Nature Poetry* (Cambridge, 1935), 5.

² A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, i (London, 1934), 6.

Critiques of Richard Simon, published in 1678 and 1693.¹ When so little of the spade work has been done, it is natural that few serious efforts should have been made to describe and estimate medieval exegesis. The last attempt to do so which appeared in England was a chapter in the *History of Interpretation* preached as the Bampton lectures by Farrar in 1888. The author of *Eric, or Little by Little* turned on medieval scholars his 'noble look of sorrow and scorn':

'We approach the subject of medieval exegesis with every desire to judge it in the kindest spirit; but we are compelled to say that during the Dark Ages, from the seventh to the twelfth century, and during the scholastic epoch, from the twelfth to the sixteenth, there are but a few of the many who toiled in this field who added a single essential principle or furnished a single original contribution to the explanation of the Word of God. During these nine centuries we find very little except the "glimmerings and decays" of patristic exposition. . . . Not one writer in hundreds showed any true conception of what exegesis really implies. . . . They . . . give us folio volumes of dogma, morality, and system, which profess to be based on Scripture, but have for the most part no real connexion with the passages to which they are attached.'²

'Mere glimmerings and decays' in 1888 expressed the general opinion of medieval culture as a whole. The middle ages were still 'barbarous'. In the same year Paulin Martin began to publish his papers on Roger Bacon and the Latin Vulgate and the Paris text of the Vulgate, where he compared Bacon to Richard Simon and pointed out the importance of Stephen Langton as an exegete. From his austere point of view of textual criticism, he was astonished to find such science as Bacon's 'dans un temps qu'on traite communément de barbare. De singuliers barbares en effet que ces grands hommes du treizième siècle!'

The last fifty years of scholarship have left us less ignorant. We have learnt to see the middle ages as essentially creative, in law, in government, theology, philosophy, art, even in science disguised as alchemy. But not, so far, in biblical scholarship. The researches of Martin and his successors, Denifle and Berger, in the 'eighties and 'nineties, have never been followed up systematically, much less popularized.

¹ *Histoire critique du Vieux Testament; Histoire critique des principaux commentateurs du Nouveau Testament.*

² 245-6.

History of Interpretation
Richard Simon
1678, 1693

The *Histoire Critique* of 1938 can still dispose of medieval exegesis in one sentence: 'Le moyen âge fut une période de décadence pour l'étude de la Bible.'¹

How can we account for this pointed neglect on the part of historians? One can suggest two reasons which may have dissuaded them from working on medieval exegesis, or may explain their lack of curiosity. First, the labour implied. If a scholar wishes to study medieval exegesis, defining it as interpretation of the sacred writers' meaning, with the help of such science as the commentator can command, he will find, like Farrar, that only a fraction of his material can be called 'exegesis' in this sense. Faced with commentaries which are admittedly treatises on other subjects, on beards for instance,² cast in a biblical framework, or with commentaries which begin in prose and break suddenly into verse,³ he may well shrink from the task of sifting.

Then, suppose that the sifting process were to leave him with a still impressive quantity of real exegesis, the historian might question, from his knowledge of medieval science in general, whether the enterprise would be worth while. Will he find pins or needles in his haystacks? Are medieval Bible studies suitable for investigation, even the serious ones? He cannot expect a commentary to have the literary and religious value of a poem or a prayer. Nor is biblical scholarship comparable to the practical science of government or architecture, or the abstract science of philosophy. A modern scholar can hardly separate biblical science from the science of history:

'It is impossible ever to understand documents without knowing the society from which they sprang. . . . We want to introduce historical methods into the study of the Bible, as the middle ages incorporated in theology the principles alike of faith and of philosophy.'

This is the aim of Catholic exegesis as expressed by M. J. Lagrange:⁴ scholarship by itself is insufficient; but it is a

¹ J. Coppens, *L'Histoire critique de l'Ancien Testament* (Tournai, Paris, 1938), 6.

² Burchardus de Bellevaux, *Apologia de Barbis*, ed. E. Ph. Goldschmidt (Cambridge, 1935). Sermons to Cistercian lay brothers which take the form of moralizing every passage of Scripture where beards are mentioned and include advice to the brothers on the hygiene of their own beards.

³ See the commentary on Exodus by the twelfth-century Cistercian, Odo of Morimund, MS. Cambridge University Library, Dd VII. 15, ff. 132^a, 133^c.

⁴ *Historical Criticism and the Old Testament*, trans. E. Myers (C.T.S. 1905), 50, 60.

sine qua non. Biblical scholarship depends on the historical sense, on scientific equipment and on a rapidly growing body of facts. It is not older than the eighteenth century. The medieval scholar, it is said, had 'no sense of perspective, but a strong sense of continuity'. He saw the identity between men living in far apart historical periods where we are much more inclined to see the difference. One cannot have it both ways. The middle ages could produce biblical plays and works of art, which we cannot. For that very reason, we need not hope to learn anything from their naïve attempts at biblical scholarship. That, at least, is ours.

An argument along these lines would be valid, as far as it goes. But it does not make medieval Bible studies any less significant for the modern historian. They have a very great historical interest; and this is twofold, general and specialist. The study which medieval scholars most respected and which they gave their best energies to, must have some bearing on the history of their civilization. If we try to understand their thought, we shall need to understand its starting-point and framework, their interpretation of the Scriptures, and how their attitude to this interpretation changed and developed.

The material will show us one aspect of their thought which we could hardly find elsewhere. We hear of controversy between Christian and Jewish scholars, in the form of polemics and disputation. Yet a Christian wishing to learn Hebrew, which he revered, not only as the language of Scripture, but also as 'the mother of tongues', and which, he expected, would be the current speech in heaven,¹ was obliged to take a Jew as his teacher. The Old Testament was common ground between them. However much they differed on its interpretation, they could discuss questions of fact. Some sort of scholarly collaboration was possible.

We also hear of the Jew as a 'carrier', bringing Arabic science to western Europe. But the exegesis of the north French school of Rashi was no imported article; it was a native product, of Jewish manufacture. So collaboration between biblical scholars may have involved a real contact, in which a specifically Jewish method influenced the Christian. According to popular academic legend, the influence of Rashi does not begin until the later middle ages,

¹ See the letter from a monk to a young anchoress, describing the joys of heaven, written about 1080. A. Wilmart, 'Ève et Goscelin', *Rev. Bén.* 1 (1938), 81.

with the Franciscan commentator, Nicholas of Lyre (d. 1349). It is classed, not as typically medieval, but as a factor in the reformation:

Si Lyra non lyrasset
Lutherus non saltasset.

This *dicton absurde*, as a French scholar described it as long ago as 1893,¹ can only be finally refuted by a study of Christian commentaries from the centuries before Lyre.

For a specialist, the motive of historical study is usually to discover the origins of something which interests him in the present, just as affection for a person excites curiosity about his childhood and background. The middle ages are not too remote a period to be explored as a background to modern biblical scholarship. Desire comes before performance. We need not ask whether medieval scholars anticipated modern methods, but whether they desired to investigate the historical and literal sense of the Bible; if so, whether their desire issued in research. If we found that it did, we might go on to the further question: Is it possible that freshness of approach, especially in linguistic problems, may sometimes have compensated for lack of our technical advantages?

This book is not a history of biblical scholarship in the middle ages, which I am not competent to write. I only mean to show that such a history ought to be written and to clear the ground, in order that such a history may be written some day. My subject is the medieval conception of Bible studies. The scope of my book is limited to circles where Bible study was a vocation or a profession, and therefore to the study of the Bible in Latin. How the layfolk understood their Bible is a question which concerns the student of vernacular literature and the historian of art. Most of the laity's ideas of Scripture must have reached them at second hand from the clerks:

'Now you talk to me again of Lot and his wife, whom I have never seen or known, nor their city, nor have we been in one time. But I have heard say that an angel commanded them to leave the city where they had dwelt, and not to look back, and because the woman looked back she was changed into a

¹ J. Soury reviewing S. Berger, *Quam notitiam linguae Hebraicae habuerint Christiani mediae aevi temporibus in Gallia* in *Bibl. de l'École des Chartes*, liv (1893), 738.

statue of salt. But to me it was never commanded that I should not look back. . . .'

This rare letter, which was sent about 1143 from a lay baron to an ecclesiastic, shows the illiterate layman struggling to answer clerical arguments; he recognizes his disadvantage.¹ My book ends about 1300, when the increase of literacy among the laity and the production of vernacular Bibles was beginning to reduce the disparity and to bring a new factor into Bible studies. Geographically, the book is limited to England, northern France, and the Rhineland, where much the same educational system obtained.

Even so, the scope of such a study is enormous. My method has been to choose three guiding lines and to follow them through, from the eighth century to the fourteenth. We shall begin with the patristic tradition as it reached Alcuin and his pupils through the Irish and Anglo-Saxon scholars; then we shall see how it developed in the framework of medieval institutions and ideas: the religious orders; the schools; and the subjects which were taught in them.

The Bible was the book of professed religious; *lectio divina* was a traditional part of the monastic routine. When a religious order distrusted learning its reading was 'holy' without being 'serious' in a scientific sense; on the other hand, an order friendly to learning produced biblical scholars: the ninth-century Benedictines, the Victorines, the friars. Therefore the history of biblical scholarship depended on that of religious organization and reform.

The Bible was prescribed as a 'set book' for theologians in the medieval schools. The student who wanted to become a master of theology had to attend lectures on the sacred page. This involves us in the history of teaching methods. We must follow the centralization of studies at Paris, the development of class-room equipment, the *Gloss* or standard commentary and its uses, also the development of academic functions supplementary to the lecture, the university sermon and the disputation. These exercises determined the form and so to some extent the content of medieval exegesis.

Sacra pagina marked the final stage of study; the scholar came to it fresh from the liberal arts. Developments in

¹ The letter is printed by H. W. C. Davis in 'Henry of Blois and Brian Fitz-Count', *English Historical Review*, xxv (1910), 297-303. Brian had been brought up at the court of Henry I and so had had a better education than most laymen.

grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic always influenced Bible studies. They determined the technique of the teacher, his intellectual interests and his cast of mind.

Still more did the prevalent philosophy affect him. The contrast between St. Augustine and the newly recovered Aristotle, which aroused his strongest passions, upset or modified his most cherished notions about the universe and its Creator, was bound to have a revolutionary effect on his study of the Creator's special book. Aristotle caused him to see Scripture as freshly as he saw all creation.

But his study was not an end in itself or, as he considered, it would have degenerated into 'curiosity'. Science must lead the scholar to wisdom; nor is his academic circle shut off from the outside world. Hence *sacra pagina* included instruction in the student's private religious duties and prepared him for pastoral charge. Ecclesiastical as well as religious reform movements had their influence on *lectio divina*.

In so far as it was affected by external circumstances, Bible study might develop spasmodically and unexpectedly. It had also its own internal law of development. Its history, like that of most human activities, was a history of specialization. In the early part of our period sacred doctrine resembled secular government in being undifferentiated and unspecialized. Like the Norman and Angevin monarchs the 'queen of the sciences' held her 'royal court of all works', her officials being the monks and masters who expounded the sacred page. To study exegesis apart from other branches of theology is like studying, say, the judicial aspect of the Curia Regis as distinct from the fiscal and administrative. Gradually in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries exegesis as a separate subject emerges. It had its own technical aids to study, and its auxiliary sciences of textual criticism and biblical languages. Even though the personnel of its teachers was still undifferentiated, a scholar distinguished between his work as a theologian and his work as an exegete.

History cannot be reduced to movements; a history of scholarship is generally written as a history of scholars. Some periods give more scope to a dominating personality than others, and the twelfth century was one of them. We have grown used to picturing conflict between cloister and school in terms of St. Bernard and Abailard, the conflict between Church and state in terms of Becket and Henry II, because these men seem to us so intensely individual and yet

typical. It was only fitting that the same century should have produced a correspondingly outstanding figure in the narrower sphere of biblical scholarship. Sure enough, when one looked for him he was there. Every signpost pointed to the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris. At St. Victor was Master Andrew, typical of all specialists and scholars, but sharing in the definite, daring quality which distinguished St. Bernard, Abailard, Henry II, and St. Thomas Becket. Andrew applied his Hebrew studies to Scripture as Abailard applied logic to the principles of faith; and he had fewer predecessors than Abailard. Master Andrew of St. Victor is so forgotten and yet so important a figure, his influence so decisive in the history of biblical studies, that it is not disproportionate to allot him a whole chapter, a sixth of our total space.

This interplay of ideas, institutions, and character gives the outline of my book. Its subject-matter is the interpretation of semitic literature by a western people, whose cultural tradition was Latin, which might be summarized as the history of an effort to reach the biblical through and past the classical. It might also be described, at least partially, as the history of Jewish influence on Christian scholars, in three stages, distinct though overlapping: Philo, Rashi, Maimonides. I have kept on the whole to a chronological arrangement for simple convenience, and have picked out for description those teaching institutions where biblical studies were most flourishing at a given time.

The result is a series of cross-sections. While every reader will suspect that the description is an incomplete one, only the specialist, who knows the extent of my materials, will see just how fragmentary it is. But only he, from his knowledge of their rawness and intractability, will realize how much drudgery has gone into making any kind of description. He may not approve of my principles of selection; at least he will realize how much I have had to select from.

CHAPTER I

THE FATHERS

I. THE LETTER AND THE SPIRIT

I PUBLISHED three books [on Genesis] from the sayings of the holy Fathers concerning the letter and the spirit. . . . For the Word came into the world by Mary, clad in flesh; and seeing was not understanding; all saw the flesh; knowledge of the divinity was given to a chosen few. So when the Word was shown to men through the lawgiver and the prophets, it was not shown them without suitable vesture. There it is covered by the veil of flesh, here of the letter. The letter appears as flesh; but the spiritual sense within is known as divinity. This is what we find in studying Leviticus. . . . Blessed are the eyes which see divine spirit through the letter's veil.¹

Claudius of Turin sums up the patristic tradition as it had reached the scholars of Charlemagne's day. The Word is incarnate in Scripture,² which like man has a body and soul. The body is the words of the sacred text, the 'letter', and the literal meaning; the soul is the spiritual sense. To explain the literal sense is to expound *litteraliter vel carnaliter*; *littera* is almost interchangeable with *corpus*.³ If, in rare moments of scepticism, a medieval scholar questioned the truth of Scripture, he never doubted that it had letter and spirit; he only feared that the spirit might be bad.⁴ Naturally, then, he understood the relationship between letter and spirit in

¹ *In Libros Informationum Litterae et Spiritus super Leviticum Praefatio*, P.L. (1844 edition) civ. 615-17.

² St. Jerome compares Scripture to the body of Christ in expressions which sound extravagant to modern readers. See G. Morin, *Etudes, textes, découverts*, i (1913), 243-4.

³ An anonymous fifth-century commentator on St. Mark writes on Mc. vi. 28-9, P.L. xxx. 608: 'Corpus Iohannis sepelitur, caput in disco collocatur: littera humo tegitur, spiritus in altari honoratur et sumitur.' The body of John is buried, his head is laid on a dish: the letter is covered with earth, the spirit is honoured and received at the altar. The commentator is comparing St. John the Baptist to the Saviour; the dish reminds him of the paten, the round, shallow vessel used at Mass. See G. Morin, 'Un commentaire romain sur S. Marc de la première moitié du V^e siècle', *Rev. Bén.* xxvii (1910), 358.

⁴ Otloh of St. Emmeran (d. 1070) describes his doubts in his *Liber de Tentationibus*, P.L. cxlvi. 33: '. . . all the books of the divine law are written so as to give an outward show of religion and virtue; inwardly they call for another reason and interpretation.'

the same way as he did the relationship between body and soul. This depended on his philosophy of life and on his way of living.

Turning to Claudius, we find an ascetic view, tinged with Neoplatonism, just as we might expect from a monk whose chief authority among the Fathers was St. Augustine. The letter is a garment for the spirit, with a suggestion of cloak or concealment, which the commentator must penetrate. It is necessary to the spirit, as the body is necessary to the soul in this mortal life. The spiritually minded commentator will accept the letter, but treat it ascetically, as the good religious treats his flesh, in order to devote himself to the spirit.

We then discover that what we should now call exegesis, which is based on the study of the text and of biblical history, in its widest sense, belongs to the 'literal exposition'. The 'spiritual exposition' generally consists of pious meditations or religious teaching for which the text is used merely as a convenient starting-point. It follows that so long as this conception of Bible studies holds good, we shall have many commentaries containing little exegesis.

'It is as though we were invited to focus our eyes not on the physical surface of the object, but on infinity as seen through the lattice . . . ; the object . . . exists—as it were—merely to define and detach a certain portion of infinite space, and make it manageable and apprehensible.'¹

This description of the 'pierced technique' in early northern art is also an exact description of exegesis as understood by Claudius, if we substitute 'text' for the 'physical surface' of the artists' material, and 'truth' for 'infinite space'. We are invited to look not at the text, but through it.

To understand the strength and solidity of the tradition we must realize how far back into classical antiquity it goes. The allegorical interpretation marks a stage in the history of any civilized people whose sacred literature is 'primitive'. They dispose of what conflicts with their present moral and intellectual standards by reading their past as an allegory. It is only at a much later stage that they come to see it as a process of historical development. Greek commentators found allegories in Homer, and the Hellenized Jew, Philo of Alexandria, found them in the Septuagint. Philo Judaeus has been called 'the Cicero' of allegory; he did not invent

¹ R. Hinks, *Carolingian Art* (London, 1935), 82-3.

but popularized, without always reconciling, a number of allegorical traditions.¹

His purpose was to show that whatever the letter of the inspired text might say, its inner or spiritual meaning was in harmony with Platonism, the current philosophy of the Gentiles. He was too good a Jew to dismiss the letter altogether:

‘Why, we shall be ignoring the sanctity of the Temple and a thousand other things, if we are going to pay heed to nothing except what is shown us by the inner meaning of things.’²

The Law is an historical institution, literally binding on Jews, which also has an inner meaning. On the other hand, texts which are superstitious or fabulous, like the anthropomorphisms in Genesis, or irrelevant according to philosophical standards, must be interpreted as purely allegorical, possessing no literal truth. Philo perceives that there is a distinction between these two types of allegory, the second based on words, and the first on actual historical events; but he does not think it important:

‘Probably there was an actual man called Samuel; but we conceive of the Samuel of the scripture, not as a living compound of soul and body, but as a mind which rejoices in the service and worship of God and that only.’³

Philo was in agreement with the intellectual tendency of his day, which stressed the ‘other wordly’ and moral element in Platonism, and dwelt on the contrast between mind and matter. The abstraction which Samuel signifies is more real to him than the historical Samuel. Scripture has become a mirror which he studies only for its reflections. Then, as he watches them, the distinction between reality and imagery is melted. Reading Philo one has the sensation of stepping through the looking glass.

One finds, as did Alice, a country governed by queer laws which the inhabitants oddly regard as rational. In order to understand medieval Bible study one must live there long enough to slip into their ways and appreciate the logic of their strict, elaborately fantastic conventions. Philo admits that anything in Scripture may signify any other thing pro-

¹ See E. Stein, ‘Die allegorische Exegese des Philo aus Alexandria’, *Zeitschr. f. d. alttestamentl. Wiss.*, Beiheft 51 (1929); also P. Heinisch, ‘Der Einfluss Philos auf die älteste christliche Exegese’, *Alttestamentl. Abhandl.* i. 1, 2 (Münster, 1908).

² *De Migratione Abrahæ*, xvi, trans. F. H. Colson and G. H. Whitaker (Loeb Classical Library), iv. 185.

³ *De Ebrietate*, xxxvi, op. cit. iii. 395.

vided that it obeys the rules of an intricate pseudo-science, the allegorical interpretation. Allegory is 'a wise architect who directs the superstructure built upon a literal foundation'. Every syllable of the inspired text may serve in laying this basis. Hence the commentary takes the form of essays, each having its basis in a short passage of the text. It proceeds by digression.

The 'rules' for building derive mainly from number-symbolism and etymology. He comments on the six days of Creation:

'It was requisite that the world being most perfect of all things that have come into existence, should be constituted in accordance with a perfect number, namely six.'

Six is

'the first perfect number, being equal to the product of its factors (i.e. $1 \times 2 \times 3$), as well as made up of the sum of them (i.e. $1 + 2 + 3$). . . . We may say that it is in its nature both male and female, and is a result of the distinctive power of either. For among things that are, it is the odd that is male and the even female. Now of odd numbers 3 is the starting-point, and of even numbers 2, and the product of these two is 6.'

The properties of the number seven are 'beyond all words'.¹

Etymologies were more helpful even than numbers. The conception went back to primitive word-magic. Hence Philo believes that a biblical name is a perfect description of the thing:

' . . . with Moses the names assigned are manifest images of the things, so that name and thing are inevitably the same from the first and the name and that to which the name is given differ not a whit.'²

It follows that the etymologist can give a true description of persons and places. Certain etymologies were biblical; in other cases an etymology might be invented. Philo, who probably knew little, if any, Hebrew, could apply the principle also to Greek words, since he held the Septuagint to be verbally inspired. It gave a rich scope to his fantasy: one cannot always say where etymology ends and the play upon words begins. Then, closely connected with its etymology,

¹ *De Opificio*, iii; xxx, op. cit. i. 13, 73.

² *De Cherub*. xvii, op. cit. ii. 43.

is the description of the thing. Its special characteristics determine what it signifies:

"The serpent is a fit symbol of pleasure, because in the first place he is an animal without feet sunk prone upon his belly; secondly because he takes clods of earth as food; thirdly because he carries in his teeth the venom with which it is his nature to destroy those whom he has bitten. The lover of pleasure is exempt from none of these traits. . . ."¹

The Christian converts of Alexandria were heirs to the Platonic allegorical tradition of Philo. They also received the independent Christian teaching that the Old Testament prefigures or foreshadows the New: *omnia in figura contingebant illis*. This conception of allegory differs from Philo's in that both the sign and the thing signified are conceived as historical, and would have no significance if they were not.² These two kinds of allegory fused together. The allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament could be used by Christians for apologetics against pagan philosophers, as Philo had used it, and against Jews. It could also be used for instructing Christians themselves in the mysteries of their faith. It appealed to the Christian Platonists of Alexandria so strongly that they even extended the method to the New Testament; the Gospels concealed 'the eternal Christ' in their narrative of his earthly life and ministry.

Clement and Origen also inherited Philo's uncertainty as to the classification of biblical figures and metaphors. Origen justifies the 'spiritual interpretation' from the impossibility of understanding a precept like: *if thine eye offend thee pluck it out* according to the letter. Scripture for him was a mirror, which reflected the divinity now darkly, now brightly; it had body, soul, and spirit, a literal, moral, and allegorical sense, the first two for 'simple believers' who were 'unable to understand profounder meanings', the third for the initiates, the gnostics, who were able to investigate *the wisdom in a mystery, the hidden wisdom of God*.³ The 'sense' of Scripture refers both to its content and to the method of the commentator in explaining it. 'Allegory' includes both teaching expressed by the sacred writer in figurative language and the commentator's allegorical explanation of an historical event or

¹ From *De Opificio*, lvi, op. cit., quoted by F. A. Wright, *A History of Later Greek Literature* (London, 1932), 193.

² See for instance G. Wuttke, 'Melchisedech der Priesterkönig von Salem', *Zeitschr. f. d. neutestamentl. Wiss.*, Beiheft 5 (1927).

³ *De Principiis*, iv, 11, 18.

institution. Origen believed that the whole of Scripture had a spiritual but not the whole of it a bodily meaning, and this led him in some cases to interpret subjectively, according to his own ideas. He was too fascinated by the spirit, just as Philo had been, to define the letter clearly.¹

Origen was such a giant, however, that he could concentrate on allegory and yet leave vast monuments of literal exegesis. Sacred history had an attraction for him that broke through his philosophical formulae. His interest in the geography of Palestine, his study of Hebrew and of Jewish traditions and variant versions of the text laid the foundations of scientific research. Indirectly he stimulated interest in the letter by provoking a reaction against allegory. The Antiochene school, under the influence of Aristotle, concentrated on the historical sense and its definition. They attacked the problems that the Alexandrians had left unsettled. According to the Antiochenes, the literal sense is the meaning of the sacred writer; it includes figure and metaphor and hence everything which is included in a prophet's vision and in what he himself means to teach.

This spiritual teaching, contained in the literal sense, was called *theoria*, to distinguish it from the mere grammatical construing of the words.² The Antiochenes did not reject a spiritual sense which transcended the historical. They believed that the Old Testament contained allegories, but were inclined to limit them to those which the authors of the New Testament had suggested, instead of spending their ingenuity in finding fresh ones. St. John Chrysostom showed how the moral teaching of Scripture could be derived from the letter, without having recourse to allegorical interpretations.

The Antiochenes had less influence on Latin commentators than the Alexandrians had. Just as the Epicureans had protested in vain against the Stoic moralization of Homer,

¹ To take one example, in his *Homilia in Numeros*, xvi, Origen comments on the blessing of Balaam: *it shall not lie down till it devour the prey and drink the blood of the slain*: [xxiii. 24] 'Who will be so contentious an upholder of the historical sense, who so brutal, that he will not in horror take refuge of necessity in the sweetness of allegory?' He therefore interprets the prophetic metaphor as referring (in its primary sense), not to the Israelites' entry into their promised land, but to the advent of Christ: 'the people of faithful Christians hear these words and embrace them, and follow him who says "except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood you shall not have life in you"' (ed. Lommatsch, x (1840), 198-9).

² A. Vaccari, 'La *θεωρία* nella scuola esegetica di Antiochia', *Biblica*, i (1920), 3-36.

in the interests of humanism and literary taste, so the Antiochenes failed to check the 'spiritual' interpretation of Scripture. It filled a religious need, whereas their literal, reasonable method, which demanded scientific studies to make it productive, did not suit the critical times of the fourth and fifth centuries.

Medieval western scholars generally depended for their knowledge of Greek exegesis on occasional translations and on the Latin Fathers who transmitted it to them. With rare exceptions they knew the Antiochenes directly through some late translations of St. John Chrysostom, who was the most moderate and least intellectual of the school, and through a little manual written in Latin by Junilius Africanus, *Instituta Regularia Divinae Legis*,¹ which gave a simple explanation, intended for beginners, of the Antiochene definition of the literal sense with teaching on metaphor and prophecy. These fragments of Antiochene learning may have had some steadying effect on the medieval scholar and helped to clarify his view of the relation between letter and spirit. The Antiochene was as nothing in comparison with the Alexandrian tradition, which came not only in translations of Origen, who was greatly revered in spite of his heresies, but with all the authority of the Latin Fathers. When the friars, under the influence of Aristotle, began to rediscover the spiritual value of the letter, they did not know that the Antiochenes had been before them.

The allegorical method captivated the Latin world, and could be used more freely since it had ceased to be dangerous. Neither St. Hilary nor St. Ambrose regarded it as an instrument of speculation as Origen had done. The Latin Fathers made their allegories conform to orthodox theology, which was more clearly defined than it had been in Origen's time. The educated Roman convert was a rhetor rather than a philosopher. The contrast between Christianity and pagan philosophy troubled him much less than the 'rustic simplicity' of the Scriptures, and their 'artless' style; he missed the conventions and carefully prepared flourishes that he was accustomed to. The allegorical exposition

¹ Ed. H. Kihn (Freibourg in Br. 1880). Written soon after 551; it was known to Cassiodorus. There were copies at Reichenau, St. Ricquier, St. Gall, Lorsch, St. Emmeran of Ratisbon, in the ninth and tenth centuries, and later copies are known; J. de Ghellinck, *Misc. Fr. Ehrle*, v. 331. It was known to Aldhelm; but copies in English libraries were rare; M. R. James, 'Two Ancient English Scholars', *Glasgow University Publications*, xxii (1931), 13.

satisfied some of his longing for complexity and ingenuity. 'I don't know why', St. Augustine says, referring to the text of the Canticle: *thy teeth are like a flock of sheep* [iv. 2], 'I feel greater pleasure in contemplating holy men when I view them as the "teeth" of the Church, tearing men away from their errors and bringing them into the Church's body with all their harshness softened down, just as if they had been torn off and masticated by the teeth.'¹ He tells us how the allegorical interpretation in St. Ambrose's preaching drew him nearer to the Church.²

St. Ambrose made Philo Judaeus the basis of his commentary on Genesis, his only criticism being that Philo as a Jew could only understand the moral and not the allegorical sense; a Christian exegete must supplement him by finding types of Christ and his Church.³ On the Hexaemeron he took the literal exposition from St. Basil, who represented the Cappodician school which stood midway between Alexandria and Antioch; but he added allegories and for his commentary on St. Luke he used Origen.⁴ His inspiration and much of his material came directly from Alexandria.

St. Jerome passed on a more complicated tradition. He drew material from many different sources; his interests changed and developed; he was too hurried to be consistent or systematic. At first the Alexandrian method attracted him, especially the translation of Hebrew names as a basis for the spiritual interpretation. Then the Origenist controversy warned him off an exaggerated use of allegory, and his own studies in Hebrew increased his interest in the letter. His last commentary, on Jeremias, is purely literal.

Hence he uses 'every possible permutation' in his definition of letter and spirit and of the various senses.⁵ The traces of the Antiochene distinction between allegory and *theoria* which have been found in his commentaries are confused and occasional.⁶ In the same commentary he says in one passage that the spiritual sense is *founded* on the literal, and in another that we must *substitute* a spiritual sense when the literal is unedifying; the story of Judas and Tamar, therefore, is not

¹ *De Doctrina Christiana*, ii. 6, trans. M. Dods.

² *Confessions*, v. 14; vi. 4.

³ *De Cain et Abel*, i. 4-5.

⁴ See the edition of C. Schenkl, *C.S.E.L.* xxxii.

⁵ L. Schade, 'Die Inspirationslehre des heiligen Hieronymus', *Biblische Studien*, xv (1910), 110.

⁶ See A. Vaccari, *op. cit.* (p. 6, n. 2).

literal truth but an allegory. In the same way he held that the Sunamite woman, who was brought to David in his old age, was a mere 'figure' of wisdom.¹

But St. Jerome was more than a channel for Greek learning. As a Hebrew scholar and humanist he brought the Bible closer to the Latin-speaking world. The Old Latin was an unlitrary translation from the Septuagint; the Vulgate was based on the 'Hebrew Truth' as St. Jerome lovingly calls it. The language, 'where the rustic Latin of the first Christian centuries mingles with the Hebraising Latinity of St. Jerome',² was the beginning of a new era, when eastern poetry penetrated into the speech of the western peoples. The prefaces to the translations, and some of the commentaries, bring the sacred writers to life. St. Jerome's scholarship gave him insight into their characteristics. There had been a tendency, which culminated in the Marcionite heresy, to think of the biblical writings as dictated, in their every syllable, by God, the writers being mere passive instruments. St. Jerome, on the contrary, upheld a human element in inspiration; God speaks 'not in the ears of the prophet, but in his heart'; though God supplies the content, the language and the choice of metaphor depend on the writer's environment and education. He discusses the style of the Pauline Epistles: the Apostle was not, as many suppose, speaking from modesty when he declared himself to be 'unskilled in speech'; a Hebrew of the Hebrews and a Pharisee, he could not explain the depths of his meaning in Greek, and could barely find the words for what he thought. Nevertheless his style was wonderfully effective; 'as often as I read him, I seem to hear, not words, but thunder'. He points out the idiosyncrasies of the Prophets: Isaias writes 'as a man well born, of urban speech, with no taint of rusticity'.³

St. Jerome left a tradition on one hand of fanciful spiritual, on the other of scholarly literal interpretation. A further influence in favour of the letter was the work of 'Ambrosiaster' or 'Pseudo Ambrose', the 'great unknown' commentator, writing between 366 and 384, whose identity has remained a

¹ *P.L.* xxv (1845), 1003; xxii. 527-8.

² S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge* (Nancy, Paris, Strasbourg, 1893), vii.

³ L. Schade, *op. cit.* (p. 8, n. 5), 27 ff.; *P.L.* xxvi. 558; xxii. 502; xxviii. 771; Jerome develops Origen in his treatment of the Epistles; his treatment of the Prophets is original. See Schade, 17-21.

puzzle. He used Latin authors rather than Greek and his approach to Scripture was independent and matter of fact. Interested in the Jews, he had 'a real idea of historical method and development'. Allegory had little attraction for him.¹

St. Augustine welded together these different elements into a philosophy of Bible study. The *De Doctrina Christiana* contains a summary of his whole position, considered in relation to exegesis. St. Jerome gave the medieval scholar his text and his learned apparatus; St. Augustine told him what his aim should be.

In so far as he was a Neoplatonist, St. Augustine put the spiritual sense above the literal. His world was 'a clear mirror where our thought sees in all things the reflection of God'.² The words of Scripture reflect their divine author, just as creation reflects its Creator. His world was a graded hierarchy where 'all beings are necessarily superior or inferior one to another by the mere fact of their being different';³ so with the senses of Scripture. He defines man as 'a rational soul which uses a body', with the accent on the transcendence of the soul; so the spirit transcends the letter; their connexion is tenuous and artificial, depending on the mechanical rules of allegory. As an original Christian thinker he gave the 'letter' a concrete chronological reality which it had never had before. The narrative of Scripture is fitted into a philosophy of history based on the Incarnation. St. Augustine accepted the historical truth of the letter more wholeheartedly than St. Jerome. We must believe in the fact; then and then only may we seek its spiritual meaning.

The only case where the fact, as related by the sacred writer, may be doubted is when it does not conduce to charity. St. Augustine stressed charity where the Alexandrians had stressed wisdom. The whole end of Bible study is to increase our love for God and our neighbour: 'We must meditate on what we read till an interpretation be found that tends to establish the reign of charity.'⁴ Since charity implies purity and faith, 'whatever there is in the word of God that cannot when taken literally be referred either to

¹ See A. Souter, *The Earliest Latin Commentaries on St. Paul* (Oxford, 1927).

² E. Gilson, *Introduction à l'étude de St. Augustin* (Paris, 1931), 27.

³ *Ibid.* 74.

⁴ *De Doctrina Christiana*, III, xv (25).

purity of life or soundness of doctrine you may set down as figurative'.¹

In his exegesis St. Augustine tries to steer a middle course between literal and allegorical exposition. He gives the literal sense a wide meaning, taking it to include metaphor. He prefers to give both a literal and a spiritual interpretation to the same text, the one signifying or prefiguring the other. He very seldom sacrifices the literal sense to a subjective spiritual interpretation. His feeling for history and his common sense suggest explanations conducive to charity, even where the narrative seems at first sight to be unedifying. Certain customs described in the Old Testament, such as polygamy, were permissible to primitive people; the sins of righteous men, such as David's adultery, are recorded in order to warn us against pride. There are exceptions, as when he explains that Jacob set up the rods before the flocks as a prophecy of Christ, not with the purpose of cheating his father-in-law,² which denies the story its historical significance. He gave his authority to the rules of Tyconius, the Donatist, for explaining contradictions and finding prophecies in Scripture in various fanciful and violent ways.³ But on the whole St. Augustine made sacred history more alive and immediate, as St. Jerome had made the sacred writers.

In this way the medieval scholar's view of Scripture was determined. Sacred history unrolled itself before him, neatly divided into 'ages of man', beginning on the spring day of the Creation. He had a vivid perception of the story: the *Rule* of St. Benedict forbids that the books of Kings and the *Heptateuch* should be read in the evening, in case they might over-excite the hearers. The Old Testament characters were living and near to him. St. Gregory felt that his own anxieties, fevers and indigestion had specially equipped him to expound the sufferings of Job: 'Perchance it was this that Divine Providence designed, that I, a stricken one, should set forth Job stricken, and that by these scourges I should enter more perfectly into the feelings of one that was scourged.'⁴

¹ Ibid. x (14).

² *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, i. 93. A speech, a law, and a benediction are also interpreted as having no literal meaning, i.e. no relation to their historical context but only to Christianity, *ibid.* i. 123; ii. 90; v. 56.

³ Tyconius was known to medieval students mainly through the *De Doctrina Christiana*. See F. C. Burkitt, 'The Book of Rules of Tyconius', *Texts and Studies* (ed. J. A. Robinson), iii (1895), xxiv.

⁴ *Moralia; Praef. in Iob* (Library of the Fathers), i. 10.

But this familiar procession of patriarchs and prophets, the Saviour and his Apostles, was the literal historical sense, which the scholar shared with the laity. Another procession walked beside it, more sharply outlined, darker or brighter. Here were the types of the spiritual interpretation, the Church and the Synagogue, virtues and vices, the Old Testament's foreshadowings of the New. The layman was just able to perceive them. He saw them in windows and on the walls of churches; he heard hints of them in sermons. To move in their mysterious company was the special duty and privilege of the clerk. A twelfth-century poet defines theologians as those

‘who compared the rod of Jesse
to the virgin birth,
or the bush of Moses’ vision,
or the fleece of Gedeon,
wet with glassy dew.’¹

We begin to realize the complexity of their study when we hear of simple people's mistakes. According to the spiritual sense, the raising of Lazarus prefigures the sacrament of penance; Lazarus signifies a man in mortal sin, who repents, confesses and receives absolution; this is a commonplace:

‘After the raising of Lazarus it was said to the disciples: *Loose him*. By this it is clearly shown that God quickens a repentant sinner but he is never loosed save by the ministers of the Church.’²

An ignorant monk at St. Edmundsbury so confused the literal and spiritual senses as to teach in a sermon that: *Lazarus died in mortal sin* and for that reason stank after three days!³

We realize too from this example how deeply the spiritual interpretation will penetrate language, thought, politics, and finally everyday life. The types are so real and so familiar

¹ K. Strecker, *Moralisch-satirische Gedichte Walters von Chatillon* (Heidelberg, 1929), Gedict. i. 9:

qui aptabant virgam Jesse
partui virgineo,
seu rubum visionis,
sive vellus Gedeonis
sparsum rore vitreo.

² F. Bliemetzrieder, ‘Trente pièces inédites d’Anselme de Laon’, *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* ii (1930), 70; derived from Pseudo-Augustine, *De Vera et Falsa Poenitentia*, P.L. xl. 1122.

³ ‘Electio Hugonis’, *Memorials of St. Edmundsbury*, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Series), ii. 60. It is a tract describing a disputed election, 1213–15.

that they may be used as arguments from authority, as well as for illustration. Their influence may be beneficent or sinister. The Synagogue is always opposed to the Church in the allegorical interpretation as darkness to light, and gradually this type becomes identified with the living Jew, increasing, perhaps helping to create his unpopularity.¹ Philo's 'wise architect' had built a prison for the Jewish people.

II. LECTIO DIVINA

The book of mysteries was also an encyclopaedia which contained all knowledge useful to man, both sacred and profane. St. Augustine accepted this Alexandrian concept and worked out its consequences for Christian education. Bible study is the highest kind of Christian learning. Since the content of Scripture is encyclopaedic, it calls for encyclopaedic knowledge in the student; hence all the resources of late-antique culture are brought to bear upon Bible reading.

From the point of view of scholarship it was a decadent culture. Fourth-century men of letters were concentrating on the reading and interpretation of classical literature; yet they were literal rather than literary in their approach to it. Professors expounded the poems of Vergil not as a whole, but, after a short introduction, piecemeal, line by line, or even word by word. They dwelt particularly on grammar, which was always their main preoccupation, then commented on the historical, mythological, or topographical details mentioned in the passage under review. Their comments reflected the contemporary state of science. Erudition, the accumulation of curious and marvellous facts, had become more interesting than the investigation of natural laws. These same tendencies reappear inevitably in patristic, and through them in medieval, commentaries on Scripture. The pagan learning which St. Augustine recommended could not include scientific method; he could only insist on the best training that the schools of rhetoric could supply: Scripture requires the same erudite treatment as the pagans give to Vergil.²

The sciences and liberal arts are necessary in so far as they contribute to an understanding of Scripture. The student needs language, grammar, and history in order to under-

¹ J. Parkes, *The Conflict of the Church and the Synagogue* (London, 1934).

² See on this subject H. Marrou, *St Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Bibl. des Écoles d'Athènes et de Rome, cxlv, 1938).

stand the literal sense, dialectic to distinguish true doctrine from false, arithmetic for number symbolism, natural history for the symbolism of beasts and birds; rhetoric, the crown of the higher education, is necessary not only for his own studies, but to enable him to teach and preach what he has learnt. The fourth book of the *De Doctrina Christiana* is a guide to preaching. *Lectio* and *praedicatio*, reading, teaching, and preaching, are different aspects of the same process. We learn by sharing our learning.

Bible study includes the study of Catholic tradition which St. Augustine does not distinguish from Scripture. It is part of theology, and theology is Bible study; so is philosophy, since their purpose is the same. Scripture is the starting-point and the way to blessedness, which is the goal of Christian philosophy and is reached through love.

The various forms which patristic exegesis had taken showed how this programme might be realized. The four main categories go back to Origen. Textual criticism is represented by the *Hexapla*, and St. Jerome distinguished three kinds of exposition: the homily which was often preached, the tome or commentary, where Origen 'spread the sails of his genius to the wind and made for the open sea', and the *scholia*, short notes on isolated passages which presented special difficulty. The series of 'questions and answers', which the Fathers found in secular literature and adapted, belong to much the same class as *scholia*.¹ The commentary was flexible enough to contain the three others within itself; and St. Augustine's four separate commentaries on the opening of Genesis showed how the same text could be used as a framework for different kinds of material. The *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* and the *De Genesi Opus Imperfectum* are mainly apologetic. The *De Genesi ad Litteram* is theological, philosophic, and speculative; it discusses the problems of Creation, and the last book is a treatise on vision, suggested by the 'deep sleep' cast upon Adam. The commentary on Genesis which closes the *Confessions* shows how exegesis might also be an act of prayer: 'the exercise of that joyful charity which comes of at last finding God and seeks to find him again in his works'. *Lectio* began and ended in *oratio*.

¹ See G. Bardy, 'La littérature patristique des *Quaestiones et Responsiones* sur l'Écriture sainte', *Revue Biblique*, xli (1932), 210, 341, 515; xlii (1933), 14, 211, 328.

This was the foundation of the contemplative life, as it was lived by the Fathers of the desert and described to the west by St. John Cassian. His *Conlationes* supplement the *De Doctrina Christiana*; they are a monastic guide to Bible study. Fasts and vigils and 'the instancy of reading' are sure weapons in the monastic combat. As a beginner the monk can only drive out the worldly memories that invade his head by meditation on Scripture, prolonged and stable. Then, as he progresses in the contemplative life, an understanding of Scripture will be his reward.

The 'science of religious men' consists in two parts. The first, 'practical', is purification and amendment of life, which prepare the mind for Bible study better than any academic learning; the second, theoretical, is the interpretation of Scripture. Cassian distinguished four Scriptural senses, one literal or historical and three spiritual; he gave an example which caught the fancy of the middle ages and became classical: Jerusalem, according to history, is a city of the Jews; according to allegory it is the Church of Christ; according to anagoge it is that heavenly city of God *which is the mother of us all* (Gal. iv. 26); according to tropology it is the soul of man, 'which under this name the Lord often threatens or praises'.¹

As he grows in purity of heart, so the monk increases his perception of the spiritual senses. It is a logical consequence. Spiritually interpreted, Scripture mirrors the monastic combat, with its satisfactions and its temptations. The 'eight principal vices' that beset the monk are the seven nations, which the children of Israel were commanded to destroy, and the land of Egypt, which they were commanded to leave. Egypt signifies the first vice, gluttony. The other seven can be destroyed radically; as the seven nations might be destroyed and their land possessed by Israel; but gluttony never; it can only be abandoned; even the monk is obliged to eat!² Naturally the most experienced monks would be the most expert in finding these spiritual meanings.

Following Cassian the founders of western monasticism incorporated *lectio divina* or *lectio sacra* into their rules. St. Benedict allotted two hours on weekdays, three in Lent, to private reading; on Sundays it replaced manual work. In his rule for nuns St. Caesarius of Arles ordered two hours of private reading a day, and reading aloud during spinning.

¹ *Conlationes*, xiv. 8.

² *Ibid.* v. 16-19.

Even when about their other work, the nuns were 'always to ruminate something from Holy Scripture'.¹ In addition to reading at meal times the religious would hear the lessons read out in church; and at the eight daily offices prescribed by St. Benedict they recited the whole Psalter each week.

From the fifth to the ninth century, roughly speaking, the conditions necessary for study in western Europe could only be found in a monastery. The scheme prescribed by St. Augustine would have to be realized, if at all, in the practice of *lectio divina* in the monastic routine. The two things were quite compatible. St. Augustine himself had drawn up a rule, and lived in common with his clergy. St. Jerome had been typically monastic in his devotion to *lectio divina*.² He and the group of women under his direction differed from the religious of the *Conlationes* only in that their Bible studies included scholarship, and that for St. Jerome 'to read without also writing' was 'to sleep'.³ The *lectio divina* of western monasticism drew its inspiration from St. Augustine and St. Jerome as well as from Cassian. It meant something widely different from the pious exercise which is now known as 'spiritual reading'.

We can watch the fusion between the two traditions. St. Eucher of Lyons contrives to harmonize Cassian with St. Jerome by a clever manipulation of words; he slips *disputatio* into Cassian's definition of theoretical or contemplative science, so as to connect it with a comparison between the 'celestial philosophy' of Scripture and the physics, ethics and logic of secular learning which he found in St. Jerome.⁴ Cassiodorus shows his courtier's tact in reconciling Cassian with St. Augustine. The prologue of the *De Doctrina Christiana* defends the use of secular learning in Bible study against those who think they can understand

¹ *Statuta Sanctarum Virginum*, xviii, xix, xx. The reading centred in Scripture. A curious letter of the sixth century in Gaul, professedly written from one nun to another, is evidence of the zeal with which *lectio divina* and the spiritual interpretation were practised in convents. It is composed almost entirely of moralized quotations. *M.G.H.*, *Ep.* iii. 716-18.

² See D. Gorce, *Lectio Divina* (Paris, 1925).

³ St. Jerome writes to Pope Damasus: 'In your eyes to read without also writing is to sleep.' *Ep.* xxxvi.

⁴ *Formulae Spirituales Intelligentiae, Praef.*, ed. K. Wotke, *C.S.E.L.* xxxi. 3-6. Neither St. Jerome nor Cassian are mentioned by name but St. Eucher was comparing *Epp.* xxx, cxx with *Conlationes*, xiv. 1-4 and 8. St. Augustine describes the desert Fathers as 'videntes in orationibus, in lectionibus, in disputationibus'. *De Moribus Ecclesiae*, i. 69, *P.L.* xxxii. 1338. This may also have influenced St. Eucher.

Scripture by divine illumination, without any help from man; and this was not unlike the claim of the desert Fathers who instructed Cassian. Cassiodorus admits that God has sometimes granted understanding to simple people in answer to their prayers; but we must not tempt him by asking for miracles: 'let us pray that what is hidden may be revealed to us, and let us by no means desist from our studies.'

Cassiodorus had hoped to found a secular school for sacred studies. Since this proved to be impracticable he built a monastery, provided a fine library, and wrote the two books of the *Institutiones* to explain its uses. The writings of the Fathers were rungs in the ladder which led up to *lectio divina* and heavenly contemplation.¹ He advised which commentaries should be read on which books, and gave a list of introductions to Bible study: Tyconius, Augustine, Hadrian, Eucher, Junilius. The second book of the *Institutiones* passes from theology to the seven liberal arts which were its necessary preparation. Cassiodorus provided a summary, of the kind that St. Augustine had recommended, to save the student from wasting time and enable him to embark on the higher wisdom as soon as possible.

His commentary on the Psalter represents a wonderfully conscientious, academic attempt to put his preaching into practice and to use the secular sciences as an aid to Bible study. He clarifies the literal sense by definitions of loving precision; the *cathedra* of Ps. i. 1 seems to have roused his memories of the Ostrogothic court:

'A *chair* is a form composed of matter, suitable for seating, which receives our curves softly from behind, and like a cunning receptacle enfolds us, bent into its lap.'²

He struggles to find the arts which, according to the Alexandrian tradition, pagan authors had originally learnt from Scripture. 'Schemes and tropes' in the Psalter are not obvious; but 'delicious fish are drawn from deep water and before they were caught no human eye had seen them'.³ Cassiodorus was a patient fisherman:

'Ps. lxi. 1 is an *epitrochasmos* (and we had never noticed it though we say it so often!); Ps. xli. 17 is a *quinquepartite*

¹ *Lib. i, Praef.*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, *Cassiodori Senatoris Institutiones* (Oxford, 1937), 4.

² *Com. in Ps.*, *P.L.* lxx. 28.

³ *Ibid.* 20-1.

syllogism, elaborately worked out; xliii. 15 is an *anaphora* or *relatio* . . . and so forth, on every page of the commentary: we are accustomed to hypallage, pleonasmos, synecdoche, climax, but epembasis, ethopoeia, auxesis, ennoematice, . . . are less familiar, with many others.'

He ends triumphantly:

'Lo we have shown that the series of Psalms is filled full with grammar and etymologies, with schemata, with the art of rhetoric, with topica, with the art of dialectics, with music, with geometry, with astronomy, and with the expressions peculiar to the divine law.'¹

Cassiodorus expounding the 'letter' reminds one of a small child, importantly filling his bucket with water and pouring it out. He shows how barren a study it could be if it were undertaken without any more scientific equipment than the late-antique tradition could provide. St. Augustine, without knowing Hebrew, had dwelt on 'the expressions peculiar to the divine law'. He realized that the Old Testament had a beauty of its own, if it were judged independently of rhetorical standards; and he stressed the need for linguistic studies. But in the sixth century, *triste siècle*, all that a scholar could do was struggle to preserve his own Latin culture, and the elementary things in patristic thought. The spiritual exposition, which takes up the greater part of Cassiodorus' commentary, gave more opportunity for this than the literal. After reading Cassiodorus it is no surprise to pass on to St. Gregory, the master of 'spiritual' exegesis, in whose words 'the keys to this art may best be found'.² They represent another attempt, by a greater man than Cassiodorus, to realize St. Augustine's teaching in the practice of *lectio divina*.

The *Moralia in Iob* originated in the monastic *collatio*, the daily conference³ where the abbot preached and the monks were allowed to ask questions suggested to them by their reading. The *Homilies* on the Gospels and Ezechiel were preached to the clergy and people of Rome while St. Gregory

¹ J. Chapman, *St. Benedict and the Sixth Century* (London, 1929), 89, n. 2.

² Guibert of Nogent, *De Vita Sua*, ed. G. Bourgin (Paris, 1907), 66. ' . . . Gregoriana dicta, in quibus artis huius potissimum reperiuntur claves . . . '

³ St. Gregory gave the *Moralia* in their first form as lectures to the monks who had accompanied him on his mission to Constantinople, and who took refuge with him 'from the waves of earthly occupation' in the study and discussion of Scripture, enjoined by the *Rule* of St. Benedict. *Praef. in Iob*.

was Pope. In each case the exegesis depended on the audience:

‘I know that very often I understand many things in the sacred writings when I am with my brethren, which, when alone, I could not understand. . . . Clearly, as this understanding is given me in their presence, it must be given me for their sakes. Hence God grants that understanding increases and pride decreases, while I learn, on your behalf, that which I teach you. For, really, very often I hear what I am saying for the first time, just as you do.’¹

Thinking of his audience, St. Gregory construes St. Augustine’s teaching, that all knowledge useful to man is contained in Scripture, to mean that each text contains, or points him towards, what is useful to any particular man at any particular moment. Scripture resembles the wheels of the beasts in the vision of Ezechiel: *When those went these went, and when those stood these stood, and when those were lifted up from the earth the wheels were also lifted up together and followed them: for the spirit of life was in the wheels* (Ezech. i. 21): just so with *lectio divina*; it corresponds with the state of the student; it goes, stands, is lifted up with him, like the wheels, according as he is striving after the active life, after stability and constancy of spirit, or after the flights of contemplation.² Thus the expositor, knowing the needs of his audience, is bound to make suitable provision, no matter what text he happens to have reached. St. Gregory sees that the solution lies in constant digression. Very good: to meander like a river is the ideal:

‘. . . he that treats of sacred writ should follow the way of a river, for if a river, as it flows along its channel, meets with open valleys on its side, into these it immediately turns the course of its current, and when they are copiously supplied, presently it pours itself back into its bed. Thus unquestionably, thus should it be with everyone that treats of the Divine Word, that if, in discussing any subject, he chance to find at hand any occasion of seasonable edification, he should, as it were, force the streams of discourse towards the adjacent valley, and when he has poured forth enough upon its level of instruction, fall back into the channel of discourse which he had prepared for himself.’³

St. Gregory was preaching at a moment when civilization

¹ *Hom. in Ezech.* 11. ii, *P.L.* lxxvi. 949.

² *Ibid.*, 1. vii, *P.L.* lxxvi. 847–8.

³ *Praef. in Iob* (op. cit., p. 18), i. 6–7.

seemed to be condemned. He finished his homilies on Ezechiel with a barbarian army at the gates of Rome, when men returning with their hands chopped off told him that some were prisoners, others dead.¹ Spiritual instruction was what his audience needed, simple for the clergy and people, more advanced for the religious. The problems of biblical scholarship did not concern them. It was 'very superfluous' to inquire into the authorship of the book of Job; enough to know that the Holy Spirit was its real author; 'if we were reading the words of some great man with his epistle in our hand, yet were to inquire by what pen they were written, it would be an absurdity'.² St. Gregory reduces the literal exposition to a bare minimum. It consists mainly in doctrinal discussion: how to excuse the curses uttered by the holy man Job, or on the nature of prophecy. His originality lies in his adaptation and extension of the spiritual senses.

Their functions are described in a metaphor which medieval scholars accepted as definitive:

'First we lay the historical foundations; next by pursuing the typical sense we erect a fabric of the mind to be a stronghold of faith; and moreover as the last step, by the grace of moral instruction, we, as it were, clothe the edifice with an overcast of colouring.'³

The 'typical' sense included Cassian's allegorical and anagogical sense, that is, the finding of types of the Church past and present, and of the Last Things. The finding of types was well designed to educate St. Gregory's hearers. It enabled him to connect a résumé of some doctrinal point to each passage, and to refute heresies—a traditional function of exegesis. The text Job xxviii. 19, *the topaz of Ethiopia shall not be equal to it* (to wisdom), means that 'the virtues of the Gentiles *shall not be equal to* the holiness of the Son of God'. It is an occasion for Gregory to explain the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation and to warn his audience against heresies which deny our Lord's divinity.⁴ The moral sections, on the other hand, contain his teaching on the religious life and on ethics. Here he finds what he requires in each text by his use of 'testimonies'. The brothers for whom Gregory wrote the *Moralia* had asked for an allegorical and moral interpretation, 'with the addition of

¹ *Hom. in Ezech.* II. x, P.L. lxxvi. 1072.

² *Praef. in Iob*, 15.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Mor.* xviii. lii, P.L. lxxvi. 88–90.

somewhat yet harder, that I would crown the several meanings with testimonies, and that the testimonies, which I brought forward, should they chance to appear involved, should be disentangled by the aid of additional explanation'.¹ A 'testimony' is a 'parallel passage', which he adduces in accordance with the old rule that one passage in Scripture must be interpreted by comparison with others. The spiritual interpretation of his text suggests another text containing a word which has the same spiritual meaning as the first. This second text is then interpreted according to its spiritual meaning; this suggests another; and so on, until the commentator 'falls back into the channel of discourse which he had prepared to himself'. The 'testimonies' might be called the soft soil through which the discourse forces its way towards the valleys of seasonable edification.

To us, this is a most annoying system. Everything in St. Gregory's teaching is attached, however loosely, to the thread of the text, which precludes any attempt at coherence or logical arrangement. But if we take a series of two or three homilies, or one of the thirty-five books of the *Moralia*, we can see how suitable it was for educational purposes. In two or three addresses, or hours of study, St. Gregory's hearers or readers would get a series of lessons on doctrine, prayer and ethics, in a well arranged and carefully varied time-table.

St. Gregory was following St. Augustine's instructions in putting whatever learning he possessed at the service of Scripture: rhetoric in the balanced rhythm of his sentences, which never failed in the gravest political crisis; study of the Fathers, religious experience, a deep knowledge of psychology, which he expressed in scriptural language by the medium of the three senses. This became so natural to him that even when he wrote a non-exegetical treatise, the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis*, on the duties of prelates, he conveyed his meaning by quoting and moralizing biblical texts. Exegesis is teaching and preaching. Teaching and preaching is exegesis. This was the strongest impression left by St. Gregory on medieval Bible study.

The spirit of intellectual curiosity which we miss in Gregory revived again in the Irish scholars of the seventh century. Their effort to collect and understand the patristic writings led them to go behind the classic Latin sources.

¹ *Praef. in Iob*, op. cit. i. 5.

They knew and diffused the translation of the commentary on the Psalter by Theodore of Mopsuestia of the Antiochene school; and the literal, rationalistic tendency of the Antiochenes shows itself strongly in the Pseudo-Augustine's *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*,¹ written in the mid-seventh century. The author limits himself to the historical sense of scriptural miracles, since, as he says, to treat of their spiritual sense would demand 'many more books and longer toil'. He argues that God's work of creation was completed on the seventh day; since then God has governed his creation without making anything new; miracles, which are extraordinary acts of governance, can therefore be explained as 'the calling forth of some new principle which normally lies hidden in the depths of nature'.² He therefore tries to find the natural basis of the preternatural: the plague of Egypt which turned water into blood was a hastening of the slow process by which water becomes the blood or sap of a living organism, and similarly with the miracles of Christ.

The patristic tradition ends with the Venerable Bede, the last writer whom Roger Bacon was prepared to accept as an 'authority'. His predecessors had saved as much as they could of the Fathers' teaching. Bede presented it to the barbarians 'in simple language but with subtle sense'.³ His importance lies in his faithful presentation of the tradition in its many aspects. His commentaries on the books of Samuel and Proverbs are in the narrow, moralizing manner of St. Gregory and Cassian:

'If we seek to follow the letter of Scripture only, in the Jewish way, what shall we find to correct our sins, to console or instruct us, when we open the book of the blessed Samuel and read that Elcana had two wives, we especially, who are celibate ecclesiastics, if we do not know how to draw out the allegorical meaning of sayings like these, which revives us inwardly, correcting, teaching, consoling?'⁴

Significantly, this class of Bede's exegesis proved especially useful to St. Boniface in his missionary work.⁵ Other com-

¹ *P.L.* xxxv. 2146-2200.

² J. F. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland*, i (New York, 1929), 277.

³ Alcuin, *Ep.* clxi.

⁴ *Samuelis Prophetiae Allegorica Expositio*. Prol., *P.L.* xci. 499-500.

⁵ St. Boniface sends to England for 'what seems most useful as a manual and as a help to our preaching, his [Bede's] works on the lessons for the year and the Proverbs of Solomon'. *M.G.H.*, *Ep.* iii. 398.

mentaries are in the tradition of scholarship handed down by St. Jerome and revived by the Irish. It is true that Bede was a compiler, as indeed in many passages St. Jerome had been, that like his Irish contemporaries he knew almost no Hebrew, and less Greek and secular Latin literature than has been ascribed to him.¹ But research is increasing our admiration for his Christian Latin learning and his judicious handling of his sources. Bede affected medieval scholarship in two ways; he made a wide range of authors readily accessible, and he set an example of eager curiosity in their use. He had St. Jerome's ardour for *lectio divina*, disciplined by the Benedictine Rule.

¹ E. F. Sutcliffe, 'The Venerable Bede's knowledge of Hebrew', *Biblica*, xvi (1935), 300-6; M. L. W. Laistner, 'The Library of the Venerable Bede' in *Bede: his Life, Times, and Writings*, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935), 237-66.

CHAPTER II

MONASTIC AND CATHEDRAL SCHOOLS

I. THE CAROLINGIAN REVIVAL

THE programme of the Carolingian revival, as stated by Charlemagne, was that of the *De Doctrina Christiana*: learning as a preparation for Bible study. Bible study meant the study of the sacred text together with the Fathers; the two kinds of authority were inseparable. The obstacles which Charles and his assistants had to overcome were general ignorance, acute local book famines and the corruption of the central subject for study, the sacred text. These two needs explain both the organized revision of the Vulgate text, and the form taken by Carolingian exegesis; but only the latter can be mentioned here. In order to make the patristic tradition available and intelligible, scholars had recourse to the methods of Bede. They prepared handy text-books or chains of select extracts. 'Picking flowers in the garden of the Fathers' or 'wavelets from the ocean', which began as early as the fifth century, had never been done so systematically.

To study the commentaries of Alcuin, Claudius of Turin, Raban Maur and Walafriid Strabo his pupil, to mention outstanding names, is simply to study their sources. The few scholars who have undertaken this complicated and ungrateful work have shown that the compilers of the Carolingian period were less scientific than Bede, their 'master'. They worked in a more mechanical, less critical way. Instead of taking their quotations from the original patristic writers, they were apt to enlarge existing sets of extracts, or their memories of oral teaching derived from the Fathers, or to employ pupils to collect extracts for them. Hence the *pauperculus lector*, for whom, they tell us in their prologues, their work was intended, was getting his Fathers at third or fourth hand. We hear of occasional attempts to label the excerpts, so that he might at least know which Father he was reading. The labels easily dropped off in transcription, and there was no obligation to acknowledge debts to contemporaries.¹

¹ On the revision of the text see S. Berger (op. cit., p. 9, n. 2); the fundamental studies of exegesis from Alcuin to Paschasius Radbert are by A. E. Schönbach, 'Ueber einige Evangelienkommentare des Mittelalters', *Sitzungsber. Wiener Ak.*

These were minor defects in a general scheme which succeeded. By the end of the ninth century a beginner could read almost any one of the biblical books with the help of a commentary pieced together from one or more of the Fathers. If his library were rich and up to date he could choose between a number of 'expositors', as the commentaries were called, for those books which had especial importance in doctrine or the liturgy, as Genesis, the first Gospel, the Pauline Epistles, and the Psalter.

The labour of compilation led in itself to more independent work. It showed up the inconsistencies and gaps in the patristic tradition. Scholars could hardly avoid comparing and then discussing, and filling in by their own compositions. Paschasius Radbertus and John the Scot, the two most original of the ninth-century commentators, both use the permission to 'discuss' which St. Eucher had given when he inserted *disputatio* into his definition of *lectio divina*. Paschasius meant his twelve books on St. Matthew¹ to be a synthesis of authorities; in practice he sometimes compares and criticizes them; he draws out the doctrinal content of his text as fully as possible and defends the views he had put forward in the Eucharistic controversy.

John the Scot² had prepared for himself an acute problem of conflicting authorities by his studies in Greek theology, which diverged on many points from the Latin; and the metaphysical content of Scripture interested him more than allegories and moralities, as he openly said. What was he to do when a fascinating Greek theologian conflicted with the universally received testimony of St. Augustine? One alternative was to give both explanations, leaving no doubt as to his real preference by a turn of phrase; another was to reconcile the two, showing that fundamentally there was no disagreement; the boldest course was to discuss and select, admitting that as human authorities the Fathers stood below the divine authority of Scripture. The surviving fragment of John's commentary on the Fourth Gospel teems with argu-

cxlvi (1903); 'Otfriidstudien', *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altertum*, xl (1896). See also A. Wilmart, 'Deux expositions d'un évêque Fortunat sur l'Évangile', *Rev. Bén.* xxxii (1920), 160, 174; 'Smaragde et le Psautier', *Rev. Bibl.* xxxi (1922), 350-9. A complete list lies outside the scope of this book.

¹ *P.L.* cxx. 31-992.

² His two exegetical works are a homily on St. John i. 1-14, and a commentary on St. John which was probably complete but has only survived in fragments. *P.L.* cxxii. 283, 297. See M. Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Érigène: sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée* (Louvain, Paris, 1933), 222-32.

ments and discussions, which begin with the prophetic *quaeritur*.

To pass from the brilliant John to his contemporary 'Haimo' is an anticlimax, Haimo being an obscure person, about whom we know nothing, except that he was probably a monk at Auxerre.¹ His commentaries (written about 840-60) are important because they were widely read from the tenth to the twelfth century, and because they give substance to the Carolingian revival. In Haimo we have a commentator who lacks the originality of John the Scot or Paschasius, and who yet contrives, in his humble way, to work along the same lines as they do. 'The bonds of tradition are not yet broken, but they begin to loosen, and to leave space for independent judgement and investigation.'² Haimo stands on the line that divides the compiler of select extracts from the author of a commentary. His method is to give a choice of explanations for each text, and occasionally to raise and answer questions. Significant extracts from his teaching were published by his pupil, Heiric of Auxerre. Their title in the manuscript is *Scolia Questionum*. Interspersed among single texts which each has a short explanation, we find questions, and a rudimentary concordance of conflicting texts.³ They revived a type of patristic exegesis which had many potentialities.

Haimo and Heiric, following on Paschasius and John the Scot, prove that theological discussion was becoming a normal part of exegesis. A study of the unpublished commentaries

¹ On the Haimo question see E. Riggensbach, 'Hist. Studien zum Hebräer-brief', *Forschung. z. Gesch. des neutest. Kanons*, ed. T. Zahn, viii (Leipzig, 1907), 41-201. The author shows that commentaries on the Pauline Epistles, Isaiah, the Minor Prophets and the Apocalypse, and the Canticles are almost certainly to be attributed to Haimo of Auxerre, the master of Heiric of Auxerre, instead of to Remigius of Auxerre or to Haimo of Halberstadt as is usually done. These commentaries are printed in *P.L.* cvi and cxvii. The commentary on the Psalter printed with them is spurious, also those on Joel and Amos. Haimo's genuine commentaries on Joel and Amos are printed under the name of Remigius (*Max. Bibl.* xvi). Fragments of a commentary on Genesis have been discovered in a Berlin MS. (*Rose*, ii. 3).

² Riggensbach, 56.

³ *MS. Bibl. Nat.* 8818 (11th cent.), ff. 29^v-44^v. See L. Traube, *Rheinisches Museum* (1892), xlvii. 559-61. Riggensbach, *op. cit.*, pp. 187-97, prints a selection of passages from the *Scolia* beside parallel passages from the commentaries of Haimo. The resemblance is striking; but Heiric's extracts are not taken verbatim from the commentaries; in some cases he might have been excerpting from either, or both, of two passages in Haimo, where the same matter is treated. It is also quite possible that the *Scolia* represent jottings from lectures, or excerpts from Heiric's notes of his master's lectures. In a poem prefixed to the extracts he tells us that they are taken from his master Haimo.

of Remigius, the pupil of Heiric, might show us the movement developed a stage farther.

Biblical scholarship, as distinct from theology, showed signs of development too. The first problem here was to work out the patristic distinction between letter and spirit. The distinction itself was bound to relegate the 'letter' to an inferior place; but before it could be even cursorily expounded, commentators had to decide what the letter was. Biblical scholarship would have no future if metaphor, prophecy and parable were to be included in the subjective 'spiritual' exposition.

The patristic tradition had no agreement as to the meaning of 'literal' and 'historical'. St. Gregory said that history was the foundation of allegory yet he sometimes denied the historical sense; St. Augustine admitted that in rare cases one might deny a literal meaning in favour of the allegorical. The Thomist solution of the difficulty, that the literal sense is the whole meaning of the inspired writer, and the spiritual the significance which God has given to sacred history, would hardly have occurred to ninth-century scholars; they generally thought of Scripture as a letter addressed to them by God;¹ the evangelists were commonly represented by artists as writing at the dictation of an angel or the Holy Spirit. In default of the Thomist, some other way of distinguishing the senses had to be found.

Angelom of Luxeuil discovered not only the usual three, but seven senses, in the books of Kings and 'many other books'.² This is not, as it is sometimes supposed to be, a comic piece of over-elaboration; it is a real attempt to face the difficulties. The first sense is historical, that is, plain straight-forward teaching: for example, *Obedience is better than sacrifices* [I Reg. xv. 22]; the second sense is allegorical, having no literal sense, like the girl brought to David in his old age [III Reg. i. 1-4], who signifies wisdom; the third sense is a mixture of the first two; it is literally true and also has an allegorical meaning, like the story of David and Bethsabee. The last two categories have evidently been invented by Angelom in order to harmonize the different treatment which St. Jerome and St. Augustine had ac-

¹ See St. Gregory quoted above, p. 20, and Alcuin, *Ep.* xxi. Agobard of Lyons preferred St. Jerome's view (see p. 9), *Liber adversus Fredegisum*, P.L. civ. 165-7.

² *Com. in Reg., Praef.*, P.L. cxv. 245-6.

corded to these two female characters; St. Jerome said that the girl was merely a symbol, St. Augustine that Bethsabée was an historical character. The fourth sense contains teaching concerning God; the fifth is parabolic, that is, a contradiction with a mystical meaning;¹ the sixth concerns the first and second coming of Christ, the seventh moral teaching. Angelom's purpose seems to be to avoid the 'allegory or history?' problem by means of subdivisions.

John the Scot achieved more lucidity by his twofold division: (i) mystery or allegory; that is, historical event or institution, like the old Law; (ii) symbol, which includes metaphor, parable, doctrinal teaching. The first has both a literal and a spiritual meaning, the one for the simple, the two for the wise; thus the old Law prefigures the new. The second must be understood in the same way by all Christians alike, and the simple must believe, even if they cannot fully grasp the meaning.² John had worked his way to a conception of parable and metaphor which was not unlike the Antiochene *theoria*. He saw, too, that the whole of Scripture had a primary sense, to be accepted by believers, which included both history and poetry or doctrinal teaching, and that sacred history had in addition an allegorical sense.

Paschasius tacitly accepts the principle that the primary sense includes prophecy and metaphor. He steers a triumphant course through the difficult book of Lamentations, first briefly explaining the literal sense, which includes an explanation of metaphor, then constructing allegories and moralities on the basis of the metaphorical letter. Hence metaphor and prophecy have both (i) a literal and historical sense, intended by the Prophet, (ii) a spiritual sense, discovered by the commentator.³ This solution of the difficulty was generally received.

¹ This was a traditional method of harmonizing discrepancies in Scripture. Angelom gives the example of the title of Ps. xxxiv which has *Abimelech*, whereas in I Reg. xxi. 12, the name is *Achis*. The mystical interpretation of the name explains why the Psalmist used it instead of *Achis*.

² *Com. in Evan. Iohan.*, P.L. cxxii. 341-8.

³ To give one example: *Com. in Lam.*, P.L. cxx. 1079-80: *Sordes eius in pedibus eius*, i. 9.

(i) 'non quod ad litteram solummodo eam [Ierusalem] lugeat tantus propheta, eo quod sordidos gesserit pedes, quod frivolum satis videri potest, sed quia secundum interiorem hominem pollutos habeat gressus. . . . Habuit autem et Synagoga pedes suos. . . . In quibus profecto quia sordes eius erant, scelera videlicet et delicta, non est recordata finis sui. . . .'
(ii) 'Mystice autem, nostra Ierusalem sordes gestat in pedibus: quia in huius vitae solitudine, nemo sine squalore incedit vitiorum. . . .'

In spite of the general preference for allegorical and moral senses, there were some interesting essays in literal interpretation. Raban improved on Bede by finding a literal as well as a spiritual exposition for the books of Kings. He collected scattered references from the Fathers and from the Jewish historian Josephus, and used the works of a Jew of 'modern times' learned in the Law.¹ This last reference has been traced to the author of the anonymous *Quaestiones Hebraicae in libros Regum et Paralipomenon*,² written on the model of St. Jerome's *Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim*, which give Hebrew traditions and compare the Hebrew text with the Vulgate. The author must have been a Jewish convert, who had studied rabbinics; he also left anonymous glosses on various Old Testament books and a short commentary on the Canticle of Debbora.³

Christian of Stavelot wrote a commentary on St. Matthew which, he tells us, was intended to be mainly historical. This is an unambitious little work, addressed to beginners, but interesting on account of the author's careful explanation of the grammatical sense and his attempts to illustrate the text by topical allusions, drawn sometimes from the surrounding country-side.⁴

John the Scot compared the Greek with the Latin text of the Fourth Gospel, and found the original 'more significant'. There were attempts to learn at least the Hebrew alphabet.

The scholars of the eighth and ninth centuries had laid down the two lines, 'questioning' patristic authorities, and studying Hebrew, on which medieval exegesis would develop. Then came a sudden interruption. After the death of Remigius of Auxerre, about 908, there is no important commentary, and a dearth even of compilations, for about a century and a quarter. Holy abbots, as their biographers tell us, were still devoted to *lectio divina*, and we have unverifiable references to their study of Hebrew; they left very little written exegesis. The cathedral schools, which were improving their organization at this time, did as little for biblical studies as the monastic.

It is a dramatic pause in the history of Bible studies and we should miss its significance if we explained it away as the

¹ J. B. Hablitzel, 'Hrabanus Maurus', *Biblische Studien*, xi (1906), 14-15.

² *P.L.* xxiii. 1329.

³ *Quam notitiam*, 1-4.

⁴ M. L. W. Laistner, 'A Ninth-Century Commentator on the Gospel According to Matthew', *Harvard Theological Review*, xx (1927), 129-49.

demoralizing effect of war and Viking invasion. They certainly made scholarship difficult; but the real reason was a shift of interest. The Cluniac and other tenth-century religious reformers emphasized the liturgy at the expense of study. As the offices multiplied, *lectio divina* moved out of the cloister into the choir. Creative energy went to the invention of liturgical poetry and drama. The Cluniac abbots in their sermons and meditations concentrate on the dramatic, emotional aspect of Scripture. Their method might be called 'exclamatory';¹ it recalls the pious ejaculations inserted into their liturgy. Meanwhile the masters, in the cathedral schools especially, were more interested in the arts and sciences than in theology. Remigius, who left glosses on at least three books of the Bible, as well as on the grammarians and poets, shows a balance which his successors lost. Williram, abbot of St. Ebersberg, writing about 1060, complains that men who have learnt grammar and dialectic think them sufficient and neglect the Scriptures; those who have mastered theology bury their talent; they mock at the others' mistakes in reading and singing, without doing anything to instruct them or to correct their faulty books.²

This does not mean that the programme of the *De Doctrina Christiana* was abandoned for ever. It was being carried out in the lives of several generations, rather than in the life of the individual scholar as St. Augustine and Charlemagne had intended. After the 'alogical' period of the seventh and eighth centuries, scholars had begun to rediscover dialectic. During the tenth and eleventh centuries they learnt to handle it and to realize what it meant. Rhetoric as understood by Cassiodorus could be used as an aid to Bible study without any danger to the student's faith; the only risk was frivolity. Dialectic could be turned against Christian doctrine; and grammar in the hands of a trained logician could raise complicated problems. Otloh of St. Emmeran found 'dialecticians simple enough to hold that Scripture should be construed according to the authority of dialectic, and to believe in many passages in Boethius rather than Scripture. Following Boethius they reproach me for ascribing the name of "person" to anything but rational substance.'³

¹ See especially St. Odilo, *Sermones*, P.L. cxlii. 991-1036; William of St. Bénigne of Dijon, *Opera* (ed. Lévis, 1797), 96-116.

² 'Prologus in Cantica', ed. J. Seemüller, *Quellen und Forschung. 2. Sprach- und Culturgesch.* xxviii (1878), 1-2.

³ *Dialogus de Tribus Quaestionibus, Praef.*, P.L. cxlvi. 60.

When original written exegesis began again towards the middle of the eleventh century, it had gained by the long preparation. Commentators brought to their studies a fresh awareness of difficulties, with a new and more forceful technique.

. II. THE GLOSS

We do not know who began it. The writings of these pre-Parisian commentators were to the Paris masters of the later twelfth and the thirteenth centuries very much what his own undergraduate essays are to a don. They have served their purpose and either gone into the waste paper basket or been put away and forgotten. Eleventh- and early twelfth-century exegesis survives mainly in extracts and quotations. We have references to lost works by famous scholars on the one hand; on the other we have anonymous works which show the characteristics of the period. Our problem is how to co-ordinate them. We have to eke out our knowledge by guesswork, and at present it is in that precarious state when a fresh discovery may upset all our ideas.

The hopeful sign is that fresh discoveries are being made, which point to unsuspected activity. The gloomy Williram, who knew only the works of Lanfranc among contemporary exegetes, was behind his times; we must not allow him to mislead us. We are beginning to see a great movement. Though we cannot yet discern the detail, we can trace its outline, at least provisionally.

The first step is to reconstruct the succession of schools and the personnel of the masters. By the eleventh century the cathedral schools have become more important than the monastic, with the exception of Bec under Lanfranc and St. Anselm. The eleventh-century schools are apt to have less stability than those of the Carolingian period. So much depends on the individual teacher, who passes from one cathedral to another. The typical Carolingian scholar has left solid traces in the *Gesta Abbatum* of his monastery; he ends his career as a bishop whose doings are officially recorded. The master of this later period is elusive both in his movements and in his character.

In looking for the beginning, one naturally turns to the outstanding teacher of the early eleventh century, St. Fulbert of Chartres (d. 1028). We know that he expounded Scripture

to his pupils. We know that concise and literal exposition of grammatical and logical text-books was a feature of his teaching, and of his school.¹ We cannot help suspecting that it may have influenced his exposition of the sacred text. Unfortunately the only existing sample of his exegesis is a long tropological sermon.² Our suspicions are heightened, however, by fragments of a gloss on the Pauline Epistles which have just come to light under the name of 'Berengar'.³ This is almost certainly St. Fulbert's pupil, Berengar of Tours, who is well known for his controversy with Lanfranc on the Eucharist. Berengar is sometimes referred to as a 'heresiarch'; but this is seeing him out of perspective. The fragments of his work on the Epistles give us concrete evidence for the 'strenuous vigilance in understanding and expounding Scripture' which was praised by his friend, Drogo of Paris, after a visit to Berengar at Tours, about 1040.⁴ They explain afresh the reputation for holiness and learning, which his heresy does not seem to have affected.

The Berengar fragments are contained in several large collections of glosses on the Pauline Epistles, which include glosses ascribed to 'Drogo' and 'Lanfranc'. All the other glosses in these collections are either ascribed to the Fathers or are anonymous. A comparison between the Berengar, Drogo, and Lanfranc glosses shows that the three scholars worked on much the same method. 'Drogo', perhaps, may have been Berengar's friend, Drogo of Paris, who was a person of standing in the learned world. With Lanfranc's glosses we reach *terra firma*; they can be identified with Archbishop Lanfranc's. He had taught the arts and law in Italy; but he seems to have begun his theological studies in France under Berengar.⁵ Here, then, we have a possible succession. It is very tempting to make Berengar the centre of a movement which derived from his master St. Fulbert of Chartres, and which his pupil Lanfranc continued at Bec and Caen (1043-5 to 1070).

Then we have St. Bruno of Chartreux teaching at Rheims before he withdrew from the world in 1086. His scholastic

¹ A. Clerval, *Les écoles de Chartres au moyen âge* (Paris, 1895), 94-103, 108-16.

² *Tractatus Factus in Festo sancti Petri ad Vincula* (on Act. xii), *P.L.* cxli. 278-306. It seems to have been preached to a clerical congregation.

³ On Berengar, Drogo, and Lanfranc see B. Smalley, 'La Glossa Ordinaria', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* ix (1937), 372-99.

⁴ A. J. Macdonald, *Berengar and the Reform of Sacramental Doctrine* (London, 1930), 32.

⁵ A. J. Macdonald, *Lanfranc* (Oxford, 1926), 3-10.

career has been little studied. He expounded the Psalter and the Pauline Epistles.¹ Two glosses on the Psalter, which depend directly on his, suggest that he may have had an important influence.²

Then we have the certainly important, but aggravatingly mysterious Master Manegold, teaching at Paris, *modernorum magister magistrorum*. He retired to the house of canons regular at Lautenbach and died about 1110. We know him well as a political theorist, supporting the Church in her struggle against the Imperialists; we know him, too, as a master of arts, whose works on grammar and rhetoric were formative. His exegesis is known only from an anonymous gloss (Pseudo-Bede) on the Psalter which has been plausibly ascribed to him³ and about two-thirds of a column in one manuscript headed *Manegaldus in glosis*.⁴ The latter may be an extract from his lost gloss on the Apostle. We shall be obliged to treat him as the X of our equation until this gloss has been recovered.

Then from Paris we pass to Laon, whose cathedral, perched high on its rock, rises with astonishing definiteness and abruptness from the surrounding plain. In the same way, the school of Master Anselm of Laon and Ralph his brother dominates the intellectual life of the early twelfth century. Their school was flourishing about 1100; Anselm died in 1117, Ralph in 1134 or 1136. We do not know where either of them had studied. Their lectures were attended by almost every contemporary theologian of any standing, and Anselm at present is attracting more attention than any other 'master of the sacred page'. It is at Laon that we find the first concerted effort towards theological systematization. The *Summa Theologica* traces its formal pedigree back to Laon. Modern scholars are occupied in assembling the writings which derive from the school, in trying to distinguish their relationship and to separate Anselm's work

¹ P.L. clii. 111.

² B. Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis Bishop of London and the Problem of the *Glossa Ordinaria*', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* viii (1936), 51-60; 'La Glossa Ordinaria', ix. 375, n. 30.

³ G. Morin, 'Le Pseudo-Bède sur les Psaumes et l'opus super Psalterium de Maître Manegold de Lautenbach', *Rev. Bén.* xxviii (1911), 331-40; B. Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis', op. cit. viii. 52, n. 93; A. Wilmart, 'Un commentaire des Psaumes restitué à Anselme de Laon', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* viii (1936), 326.

⁴ MS. Laud. Misc. 216, fo. 4^d: Manegaldus in glosis. *Inc.* Filius diversus est in persona a patre et non est diversus in essentia. *Expl.* De huiusmodi dicitur quicquid in Deo est, Deus est. It is not certain what text Manegold was glossing. I am grateful to Dr. Klibansky for pointing this passage out to me.

from his pupils'. They have shown us how far-reaching his influence was, and have established a direct connexion between Laon and the later schools of Paris.

Much remains to be done before we can hope for an *Anselme de Laon: sa vie, son œuvre, sa pensée*. We must content ourselves in the meantime with such hints at his personality as we can get in the universal expressions of reverence and praise. Little as we know of him, it is more than we know of Bruno or Manegold; and it suggests a more sympathetic figure than the restless Berengar or the legally minded Lanfranc.¹

Anselm had the combination of strength of character, clear judgement, and peaceful disposition which is too rare for the comfort of its possessor. Peter the Chanter, writing perhaps fifty years after his death, still laments that Master Anselm was not permitted to finish the great work of glossing the whole Bible which he had begun: 'the canons whose dean he was, and many others, used often to hinder him in his work, by drawing him into their lawsuits, making much of him in adulation, oppressing the poor whom he was obliged to protect, or badgering him to take part in the business of his chapter.'² This agrees so well with the account of Anselm's behaviour in feud-ridden Laon by the contemporary Guibert of Nogent³ that one readily believes the Chanter. His other reminiscence—'Master Anselm used to say, on the day of the Passion, that we ought not to weep for Jesus; the Israelites wept for Moses, but not for Josue who prefigured Jesus Christ'⁴—conveys the same impression of calm as Anselm's own *glosula* on the Psalms, where he 'keeps his serenity from one end of his gloss to the other, patiently defining and explaining . . . in his tranquil way . . .'.⁵ Peter Abailard, who had a sharper mind and a very different

¹ The most recent study of the life of Anselm (correctly Ansellus) is by A. Wilmart, 'Un commentaire des Psaumes', op. cit. (p. 33, n. 3). Many articles by different scholars have been published in the *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.*; and see F. Bliemetzrieder, 'Anselms von Laon systematische Sentenzen', *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, xviii. 2/3 (Münster, 1919); H. Weisweiler, 'Das Schrifttum der Schule Anselms von Laon und Wilhelms von Champeaux in deutschen Bibliotheken', *ibid.* xxxiii. 1/2 (1936).

² From the Chanter's gloss on the Psalter MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 12011, fo. 173^b; see B. Smalley, 'La Glossa Ordinaria', 400, n. 1; op. cit. (p. 33, n. 2) 139-44, 174-5, 207.

³ Op. cit. (p. 18, n. 2).

⁴ From the Chanter's gloss on Deut. xxxiv. 8; MS. Balliol 23, fo. 112^d: '*Fleueruntque eum . . . unde Iehu Nave sepultus legitur, nec defletus, quia Iesum verum Iosue, scil Iesum Christum prefiguravit. Unde Magister Anselmus die passionis Iesum dicebat non esse flendum.*'

⁵ A. Wilmart, op. cit. 28.

temperament, found his master wordy and second rate;¹ he belonged to a younger generation of more thorough-going dialecticians.

From Laon we return to Paris, where Gilbert de la Porrée, a pupil of Anselm, and Peter Lombard continue the Anselmian tradition in their work on Scripture.² These two masters represent the transition between the period of scattered cathedral schools and the centralization of studies in the university of Paris.

The achievement of all these eleventh- and early twelfth-century scholars, from Berengar to Peter Lombard, like that of their ninth-century predecessors, divides naturally into two: the production of text-books or aids to study in the form of 'select extracts'; and independent exegesis. But now the two activities proceed together. We do not find, as we did in the Carolingian period, an older generation devoting itself entirely to the task of compilation. The schools of Laon and Paris made a striking advance in both compilation and original work. It will be more convenient, however, to take the two activities separately, disposing of the 'select extracts' before we consider the more original contributions to Bible study.

The first activity may be called the 'text-book movement'. In the middle ages both teaching and original thinking centred in texts which had been handed down from an earlier period, whether it were an inspired text, the Bible, or a *corpus iuris*, or a classical author. Hence it was essential for teaching purposes that the text should have some standard exposition accompanying it as a gloss, for use in lectures, which should be accessible to all scholars and students, and which everyone could refer to in the certainty of being understood. We find this development both in biblical study and in Roman and canon law. All three sciences produced a *Glossa Ordinaria*.

The history of the biblical *Glossa Ordinaria* is imperfectly known, and the few certain facts have been obscured by fantastic misconceptions. The *Glosses* of the civilians and the canonists, on the contrary, have been intensively studied; there is no mystery concerning their authorship or the process of their reception. It seems advisable, therefore, in

¹ *Historia Calamitatis*, iii, P.L. clxxviii. 123-4.

² See especially F. Bliemetzrieder, 'Robert von Melun und die Schule Anselms von Laon', *Zeitschr. f. Kirchengesch.* liii (1934), 117-70.

dealing with the biblical *Glossa Ordinaria*, to proceed from the known to the unknown. If we have before us a clear picture of the achievement of the civilians and the canonists in preparing their standard works it will be much easier to reconstruct the biblical equivalent. We shall know what to expect, and we may find the comparisons suggestive. In the following note Dr. Kantorowicz gives a résumé of the development of legal glosses and the emergence in civil and canon law of a standard or 'ordinary' gloss with a precision which students of the biblical *Gloss* will envy. The comparison which follows his note was suggested by him and is the result of our discussion.

*Note on the Development of the Gloss to the Justinian and the
Canon Law*

By HERMANN KANTOROWICZ (Cambridge)

I

THE body of the Roman law as codified by Justinian 529–566, the so-called *Corpus iuris civilis*, consisted in the middle ages of (a) the three *Digesta* (*Digestum Vetus*, *Infortiatum*, *Digestum Novum*), (b) the *Codex* (Code books I–IX), (c) the *Tres Libri* (Code books X–XII), (d) the *Instituta*, (e) the *Authenticum* (a collection of Justinian novels). The history of the glosses to these law-books (which were far from being the only books to be glossed) falls into three periods which are sharply divided and between which there was very little connexion. (1) The glosses in the age of Justinian refer to his Institutes; they are partly juristic in character, but are very few and anonymous. (2) The glosses written from about 600 to 1070 are again anonymous, but more numerous; they cover the Institutes and the Code, but are purely grammatical (synonyms, etymologies, construction, &c.). (3) Glosses of a juristic nature and often of the highest scientific value were written by the school of the Bolognese glossators. This school was founded by a former grammarian, Guarnerius (or Irnerius) towards the end of the eleventh century; continued by his pupils Bulgarus (d. 1166), Martinus and many lesser men; by their pupils, Rogerius (who died about 1170), Placentinus (d. 1192), Johannes Bassianus, Vacarius (who died about 1200) and others; then chiefly by the pupils of Johannes, Azo (d. 1220) and Hugolinus, and brought to a conclusion by Accursius (d. 1263). Of these 'pre-Accursian' glosses several hundred thousands have been preserved, but nearly all are unprinted. They cover the whole *Corpus iuris civilis*, particularly its most difficult and valuable portion, the three parts of the Digest. Usually they are signed by their authors with their *siglum* (g. = Guarnerius, b. = Bulgarus, Ioh. = Johannes

Bassianus, &c.). The oldest of them, however, are often anonymous; they consist chiefly of mere references to—never quotations of—parallel or conflicting passages in the sources (*similia* and *contraria*). These references and most of the glosses proper were written in the margin of the text, but some of the shorter glosses were written between the lines, simply to save space.

The function of the glosses was threefold: to serve as notes for the delivery of oral *lecturae*; as materials for the composition of systematic text-books (*summae*); as commentaries for the benefit of future readers of the text. They were not published by the master but often copied from his book by his pupils. The content is almost exclusively juristic; interpretation and harmonization (*solutiones contrarietatum*) of the text (*litera*), and illustration of it by *quaestiones*, *distinctiones*, *generalia*, *casus*, &c. The interpretation is more or less literal, sometimes very free, but scarcely ever moralizing or allegorical; historical, comparative, logical, grammatical observations and variants (introduced by 'alias') are not infrequent. The authorities quoted are almost invariably either the glossators themselves or a few ancient philosophers (Aristotle, Boethius), and the Bible; the Roman jurists are the subject-matter of the glossators, not their authorities.

The glossators soon began to combine the single glosses into *apparatus* which claim to give a complete and coherent interpretation of a whole title of a law-book or the whole law-book; they comment on one word or one passage after another without changing their textual order. They were partly compiled, partly newly written by the same man and then published by him. The oldest *apparatus* of a whole title is that of Bulgarus to the last title of the Digest, *De regulis iuris*, to which one of his pupils, Placentinus, wrote *additiones*; later on another of his pupils, Johannes, wrote a new *apparatus*, supplemented by additions of his pupil Azo. The oldest *apparatus* of a whole law-book seems to have been recently discovered in a series of glosses on the *Institutes* by Martinus which needs to be further studied. Towards the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century all the Justinian law-books were provided with *apparatus* at Bologna; those written at other places (e.g. those by Simon Vicentinus) passed almost unnoticed. Such *apparatus*, of a more or less compilatory character, were published by Azo in two editions (*a. minor* and *maior*) on the *Digestum vetus*, the *Digestum novum*, the Code, and perhaps also on the *Infortiatum*; by Hugolinus on the three Digests, the Code, the *Institutes*, and the *Tres Libri*; finally, by Accursius, on the *Authenticum*.

Accursius, the *Glosator* as he came to be called, compiled all the previous *apparatus*, a great mass of single glosses, and writings of other genres (*quaestiones*, &c.) which all had originally been glosses, into one vast collection of more than 96,000 glosses, some

of which are complete treatises. This work was acknowledged at once as the *glossa ordinaria*, i.e. the *apparatus* recognized by the law schools. It was written in the margins of the text, whereas the earlier *apparatus* had usually been copied *per se*. It was protected by the constant supervision of official correctors, and made the subject-matter of lectures. The earlier *apparatus* ceased to be copied and booksellers no longer kept them as part of their ordinary stock-in-trade. Only a few learned jurists continued to quote them and they were still bought and used, as a makeshift, by those who could not afford the expensive brand-new copies of the *glossa ordinaria*.

The instantaneous success of the Accursian gloss, attested by innumerable manuscripts and printed editions (from 1468 to 1627, generally in five folios), was chiefly due to the fact that Accursius aimed at compiling all the interpretations that had hitherto been put forward or could be put forward, thus enabling parties and advocates to pick out the most favourable to their cause; he often refrained from revealing his own opinion but gave preference to the doctrines of the conservative wing, the *nostri-doctores* (Irnerius, Bulgarus, Johannes, Azo). He published the first edition in 1228. In his later years he made revisions and amplifications, the extent of which has not yet been ascertained. The first critical edition of the Accursian gloss is being prepared in Italy.

Nearly all the minor jurists of the thirteenth century (his sons and other *Accursiani*) contributed *additiones* to the *glossa ordinaria*, which consisted partly of new arguments and further problems, partly of *reprobationes*.

II

The gloss to the sources of the canon law was bound to develop on rather different lines. The glossators did not inherit a self-contained *corpus* of canon law distinct from theological doctrines and ecclesiastical provisions; it was in an early period of the school of Bologna that canonistic science emancipated itself; the collections of papal decretals which formed the subject-matter of the new science received constant additions. Hence, during the middle ages canon law never attained the status of a *corpus iuris* in the sense of a comprehensive codification; no *glossa ordinaria* ever existed apart from the recognized *apparatus* to the successive private or official collections.

In the Carolingian period some anonymous glosses, a few of them of some legal value, were written in various redactions of the important Dyonisio-Hadriana collection of canons.

The first law-book to be glossed was the *Concordia discordantium canonum*, generally called the *Decreta* (or *Decretum*) *Gratiani*. This again was a Bolognese work, compiled about 1142. Most of the

canonists of the second half of the twelfth and early thirteenth century wrote, and usually signed, single glosses to it.

The date of the first *apparatus* to the *Decretum* is still uncertain; but there are known examples from the beginning of the thirteenth century. Some were written by well-known *decretistae* such as Laurentius Hispanus (d. 1248): others were published anonymously like the French work *Ecce vicit Leo* and the Bolognese works *Ius naturale* and the *Apparatus Palatinus*. These *apparatus* were the basis of the *glossa ordinaria*, compiled at Bologna about 1216 by Johannes Teutonicus; it had a success similar to that of Accursius, particularly after its revision and modernization by Bartholomaeus Brixiensis soon after 1245.

Other canonical collections received their *apparatus* later, and in most cases one of these *apparatus* attained to the dignity of *glossa ordinaria*.¹

Medical science, too, which previously had not known glosses on its body of authority (Hippocrates, Galen, Avicenna, &c.), suddenly developed the highest type, again at the same university. Thaddeus published the second and definitive edition of what at once became the medical *Glossa Ordinaria* on 10 September, 1283.
H. K.

The biblical *Glossa Ordinaria* is a tremendous work. Each book begins with the prologue, or prologues, of St. Jerome together with other prefatory matter. The text is glossed, with varying degrees of thickness, in the margin and between the lines. It has been printed many times from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries, generally with the *Postillae* of Nicholas of Lyra and the *Additiones* of Paul of Burgos. It runs to six folio volumes in this form. The title *Ordinaria* is

¹ There is a mass of modern literature on the various glossators and some of the *apparatus*, but no comprehensive history of the juristic gloss has been written. The preceding note can be supplemented from the following writings:

v. Savigny, *Geschichte des römischen Rechts im Mittelalter*, 2nd ed., vol. iii (1834), ch. 24; vol. iv (1850); vol. v (1850), ch. 42; v. Schulte, *Die Glosse zum Decret Gratians von ihren Anfängen bis auf die jüngsten Ausgaben* (in *Wiener Sitzungsberichte*, xxi, and separately, 1872); Conrat (Cohn), *Geschichte der Quellen und Literatur des römischen Rechts im früheren Mittelalter* (1891), chs. 12, 17, 25; Neumeyer, *Die gemeinr. Entwicklung d. internat. Privat- und Strafrechts*, ii (1916), 60, n. 1 (on Accursius); Juncker, 'Summen und Glossen', in *Z. d. Sav. Stift. f. Rechtsgesch.* xlv (1925), *Kan. Abt.*; Genzmer, 'Die Justinianische Kodifikation und die Glossatoren', in *Atti del Congr. Intern. di Dir. Rom.*, Bol. 1933, i (1934), 389-96; Meijers, 'Sommès, Lectures et Commentaires', *ibid.* 435 (on Martinus); van Hove, *Prolegomena (Commentarium Lovaniense in Codicem iuris canonici)*, i. 1 [1928]; Kuttner, *Repertorium der Kanonistik*, i (Città del Vaticano, 1937), and the following writings of the author of this note: 'Das Principium decretalium des Johannes de Deo', in *Z. d. Sav. Stift. f. Rechtsgesch.* xliiii (1922), *Kan. Abt.*; 'Accursio e la sua biblioteca', *Riv. d. stor. di Dir. ital.* ii (1929); *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law*, with the collaboration of W. W. Buckland (1938).

late; the twelfth- and thirteenth-century masters call it simply *Glosa*. We will therefore refer to it as 'the *Gloss*', and to the extracts, marginal and interlinear, which compose it, as 'glosses'. It is impossible to find a more precise terminology, and unfortunately 'a gloss' can refer to almost any exposition.

The fifteenth-century editors regarded the *Glossa Ordinaria* as a work of composite and uncertain authorship: 'diverse doctors at diverse times' had 'ordered' its glosses; 'and although it is not known precisely who wrote which, yet all were and are of the greatest authority in the eyes of all'.¹ This vagueness was preferable to a bibliographical legend which ascribed the marginal glosses to Walafrid Strabo (d. 849), the interlinear to Anselm of Laon. The edition of Migne, which is the most recent, proceeds on this assumption. Anyone who has tried to use it knows how worthless it is. Although the attribution to Strabo has long been discredited among scholars, being preserved in library catalogues and bibliographies it dies hard. It has even led to a differentiation between the functions of the marginal and interlinear glosses; the first are said to explain whole passages, the second the single words of the text. In reality the *Gloss* on the Bible exactly resembles that on the *Corpus Iuris* in this matter; the shorter glosses were put between the lines for convenience and for no other reason. No manuscript containing the marginal without the interlinear or vice versa has ever been found.

The known facts concerning the authorship of the *Gloss* are as follows. The central figure is Anselm of Laon. Peter the Chanter, as we have seen, tells us that Master Anselm began to gloss the whole of Scripture, but was not able to finish his work; and Peter's story corresponds to what we know from other sources. Anselm was certainly responsible for the *Gloss* on St. Paul and the Psalter, probably for that on the Fourth Gospel. His brother Ralph compiled the *Gloss* on St. Matthew; his pupil Gilbert the Universal compiled the *Gloss* on the Pentateuch and the Prophets, some time before he became bishop of London in 1128. Many books of the Bible remain unaccounted for. Even if, merely on the grounds of probability, we ascribe a larger share of the *Gloss* to Ralph and Anselm, we have a trustworthy statement by Peter Comestor that neither of them glossed the Gospel of St.

¹ *Biblia cum glossis ordinariis* (Venice, 1495).

.intdud

S u ubam duplex hē significacionē. Aliqñ enī compatet mox scōm analogiā alioqñ declarat.
Aliqñ futū unū ēq. rxi de qua pōnāt fit ullo tēpali motu designat. iō 7 substantiuū uocat. Tale ēq.
dr. In pncipio. e. u. quasi in parte substanti filii. d. d. u. pncpe s. sub. hū. pōnit era.

Alfred

ſalū euangelice deſideriū ē natū
exurge. Iohes affirmat eū ſuū
ſe ſuū. in principio. nō fuit
pater q̄ ſui. Coe ſui. Alia pſona ap̄te.
una ſubſtā cū p̄re;

Et uerbu. Alii inter homines saluo
apparuisse. Iohs dicit. ap̄ dñm semp sus-
se. Alii uerum hōie. Iohes uerū dñm
asseruit dicens. Iohs. e. u. Alii hominē
mē hōiē tēpale cōstitutum. Iohs apud
dñm manentē dicit. h̄ erat incipiens
a d. Alii dicit miracula q̄ fēc hōimū-
do. Iohs omnia p̄p̄tū fā testatur.
Omnia p̄p̄tū. f. f. e. auctore bonoz.
sine ipso f. ē. n. nō ē. auctor ma-
lor. y. or.

Si audis mutabilem creaturam
filium suum, netam credas ei muta-

Stalipfona.

Нравственно чист

verbi & verbum

erac ap^o dñi. & dñs
ipse fili^o

etac dñ. i ma erat

erat verbum hoc

unum c'p'q' ut omne p'

erat in principio apd

ncipiu ordinatu sua pre
cedencia. / Ois creatura inquit

Omnia nrisus

Yurist omis forma. of

crugo. omif gordia partu.

tea lunc & fine ipfo

104 fca. 1 in rpa.

nach Qd fern C'imp

These are the same

señ. c. nich. Qd sem c. in p.
Tuspiñali sacrosanctatione semp.

In principio. In
præ dē principio.
fine principio;

Filius q. p. p. p.

um de principio

ad hunc diducitur

мнѣнїю

—*But you too old.*

zum General,

Quatuor ponti erant.

1. *ibid.*
 2. *ibid.*

intelligas oia tē-

pa puenſſe coctm

partem libens or;

...

Ho c creatura p

que omni creatu-

312 121 124

1000

1851

I. MS. Lyell. Co

Mark; so there must have been other collaborators whose names are unknown.

These compilers were all referred to, like Accursius, as *glosatores*; they were spoken of as having 'ordered' (*ordinare*) the *Gloss*.¹

Theologians were more often content to be anonymous than legists; the canonists, who were generally also churchmen, come somewhere between. Master Gilbert the Universal was the only one of the biblical glossators who regularly signed his own glosses when he made his own comments or cross-references, and who proclaimed himself openly as compiler of the *Gloss* on a whole book: he ends the *Gloss* on Lamentations 'let this be sufficient for the exposition of the Lamentations of Jeremias, which I, Gilbert deacon of Auxerre, have drawn from the founts of the Fathers'. This versatile person, famous everywhere for knowing everything, 'universal' in his knowledge as in his friends, was a famous and, his enemies said, an unscrupulous lawyer, who practised at the Papal Curia; so it is probably thanks to his legal training that we have definite evidence for his share in the work.² Neither Anselm nor Ralph has left any sign as to which part of the *Gloss* he compiled, or which glosses, if any, were added to excerpts from the Fathers. The little we know about this has had to be gleaned from other sources.

We have no means of dating the various parts of the *Gloss*, except very roughly by the careers of the glossators. Even so, we notice that it appeared nearly a century before the two legal ones. There is an obvious reason. Irnerius stood in very much the same relation to Justinian as that in which Origen had stood to St. Paul; he had little but his actual text before him. The text had to be expounded before the expositions could be 'ordered'.

The legists necessarily began later than the theologians; but they worked more quickly; they produced their expositions, their first *apparatus*, and their standard *Gloss* in little more than a century. The theologians continued the same process over hundreds of years; Anselm of Laon and his

¹ From here to the end of the section see B. Smalley, 'Gilbertus Universalis', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* vii (1935), 235-62; viii (1936), 24-60; 'La Glossa Ordinaria', *ibid.* ix (1927), 365-400; 'A Collection of Paris Lectures of the Later Twelfth Century in the MS. *Pembroke College Cambridge 7*', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vi (1938), 110-13. See Plate I.

² The same self-assertiveness has been noted as an unusual trait in the theological works of Simon of Tournai, who was also a canon lawyer. J. Warichez, 'Les *Disputationes* de Simon de Tournai', *Spic. Sac. Lov.* xii (1932), xviii-xix.

assistants, working about 1100–30, were doing for the Fathers and their successors what Accursius did in the twenties of the thirteenth century for the twelfth-century Bolognese. Again, the reasons for the difference are obvious. The theologian's material was practically unlimited, since his text was a divine encyclopaedia with many senses. Equally important, the production of a *glossa ordinaria* demanded a certain degree of centralization in teaching; and that was not achieved, either in law or theology, until the twelfth century.

We notice the same comparative slowness on the part of the theologians if we take either the 'pre-history' of the biblical *Gloss*, that is, the preparation of the earlier *apparatus* which it superseded, or the history of its reception as *ordinaria*.

Ever since the reforms of Alcuin, and even earlier, the Vulgate had been accumulating both prefatory matter, centred in the prologues of St. Jerome, and explanatory matter in the form of glosses; all this material varied from copy to copy. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries the commentator on Scripture normally used one of these *apparatus*, which he called an 'expositor'. As we saw, the eighth- and ninth-century scholars had been active in producing them. The eleventh-century scholars followed their example. We can sometimes watch the growth of an *apparatus*, and see how successive layers of glosses came to overlay the text. Lanfranc's glosses on the Pauline Epistles, 'excerpted from the sayings of the Fathers', received at separate times two additional sets of glosses, one ascribed to St. Augustine, the other to 'Ambrose' (Ambrosiaster). A copy of Lanfranc's glosses, together with these two additions, served as 'expositor' to a certain anonymous scholar, who quotes it in his commentary as *glosa*, just as later masters referred to the *Gloss*. The same expositor was merged in two other big collections which also contained glosses ascribed to Berengar and Drogo, combined with individual material.

The *Gloss* of Anselm and his assistants took some years to oust these earlier *apparatus* from favour. We have fairly good evidence that the *Gloss* on certain books was copied at Paris before 1137; but it was not recognized at once, like that of Accursius, as the standard text. Scholars quoted it as 'the glosses of Gilbert the Universal' or 'Anselm', or anonymously. They seem to have regarded it as one *apparatus*

among many of the same kind. Gilbert de la Porrée, Anselm's pupil, and Peter Lombard seem to have been responsible for instituting it as the standard. Gilbert de la Porrée made an expansion of the patristic glosses in Anselm's *Gloss* on St. Paul and the Psalter, which he read before his master at Laon; and this expansion became known as the *Media Glosatura*. Peter Lombard also expanded the *Gloss* on these two books, religiously preserving the Anselmian text as a nucleus; and this *Maior* or *Magna Glosatura* (written between 1135-6 and 1142-3) is said to have 'displaced all other glosses' in the schools for the two biblical books which it covered.

The Lombard, as his pupil Herbert of Bosham tells us in the preface to a magnificent edition of the *Magna Glosatura*, intended to remedy the obscurity and brevity of the older glossator, Master Anselm; the idea that his expansion should be read publicly did not occur to him. But the Lombard's systematic exposition of theology, the *Sentences* (finished in 1152), became a text-book in the teaching of doctrine, and in the *Sentences* he used both his own *Magna Glosatura* and the *Gloss*. This must have given fresh authority to the work of Anselm and his collaborators. Twelfth- and thirteenth-century scribes and commentators connect both Gilbert de la Porrée and Peter Lombard with the *Gloss* in various other ways. Until research has made these allusions more intelligible we can only say that Gilbert and the Lombard must have made some use of the *Gloss*, probably in their oral teaching.

In the next generation lectures on Scripture began to take the form of glossing the *Gloss*, or, on St. Paul and the Psalter, the *Magna Glosatura*. So far as we know, the earliest example of a gloss on the *Gloss* is a series of lectures on the Gospels by Peter Comestor, given probably before he became Chancellor in 1168. He refers to it simply as *Glosa*, and in one passage compares it to a *vetus glosa*, which must mean one of the earlier *apparatus*. From about the middle of the twelfth century, a glossed Bible normally contains the same set of prefaces and glosses, that is to say, the *Gloss*. There are variations from copy to copy in detail, but no large-scale changes or additions are made; the early printed editions are not very different from the manuscripts. From Paris the *Gloss* was spread throughout Latin Christendom and accepted as the standard work.

If we compare it with the legal one, we realize that it grows and spreads itself in a more irregular and haphazard way. Its compilation and circulation were less centralized and organized. Typically, when we look for a biblical Accursius, we find, not one man, but a very nebulous band of collaborators, working in at least two different centres, Auxerre and Laon. This explains why the outstanding problem of its history is that of its sources. Owing to its composite authorship, there is a separate tradition of sources for each book. Here no comparison, but only years of detailed study will avail; no one has yet had the courage to trace and check the sources of the *Gloss* on any book. The material was too vast for the glossators to incorporate all the existing *apparatus* into one. They had to select, and our difficulty is to know on what principle: how far did they rely on extracts which their predecessors had collected?

We know that the *Gloss* on St. Paul was based on an earlier compilation, since it has many glosses in common with the expanded Lanfranc-Berengar-Drogo *apparatus*. The *Gloss* on the Pentateuch was based on a compilation by Walafrid Strabo, which is quoted by Manegold: 'Walfredus Strabo in collectario suo.' Traces of the *Gloss* on the Gospels have been discovered in eighth-century glosses.¹ Clearly, the glossators started from earlier *apparatus* rather than from the original patristic sources.

A full investigation of the sources would throw a much needed light on Anselm's method in using these earlier compilations. Did he and his collaborators just take what they could get in the nearest libraries, or did they deliberately choose as their foundation some *apparatus* which was at that time the most widely known and approved? The second is the more attractive suggestion; it awaits proof.

For whatever reason they were chosen, the range of authors quoted in the *Gloss* is wide. The better known of the Latin Fathers down to Bede, Origen and Hesychius in translation, Raban, Strabo, Paschasius, John the Scot, Haimo, Lanfranc, Berengar have all been laid under contribution. One of the

¹ See the very detailed studies of the MSS. of the *Expositio* of the Gospels (printed from a bad text in *P.L.* cxiv among the works of Strabo as the *Marginal Gloss*) by B. Griesser, 'Beiträge z. Textgesch. der Expositio IV Evangeliorum', *Zeitschr. f. Kath. Theol.* liv (1930), 40-87; 'Die hss. Ueberlieferung der Expositio IV Evangeliorum des Ps. Hieronymus', *Rev. Bén.* xlix (1937), 279-321. He concludes that the *Expositio* took shape during the eighth century; its sources were extracts from Augustine and Gregory, together with material from eighth-century glosses.

glossators at least, Gilbert the Universal, added his own comments, and others anonymously may have done the same. They compiled, in fact, a representative selection of extracts from Fathers and masters from the third century to the early twelfth.

We cannot usefully discuss the value of these extracts, as they are 'ordered' in the standard aid to study. The *Gloss* was a school book; the glossators were teachers; their practical needs and purpose are too remote for our judgement. The only opinions on the *Gloss* worth having come from their immediate successors, those masters of the later twelfth century who had to use it as a set text when they lectured to their pupils. In a later chapter we shall hear them speak.

III. THE QUAESTIO

Exegesis could take the form of 'continuous' as well as marginal and interlinear glossing, text and gloss being written out in the same column consecutively, the text being underlined or marked in some way. The *Media* and *Magna Glosaturae* took this form, though in some manuscripts the continuous gloss is written beside the text, which is thus copied twice, once by itself and once with the gloss. A certain monk sends the autograph of his commentary to a friend with the request that it shall be copied 'not in the margins, as it is here, but continuously in pages, as expositions are usually written'.¹ We sometimes find the same work, Lanfranc on St. Paul for instance, written continuously in one manuscript, as a marginal and interlinear gloss in another. We cannot distinguish very sharply between the two forms. But since the space between the margin and the text was limited, and did not easily allow of long elaborations, independent exegesis tended to appear as continuous glossing.

A scholar might write both a marginal and interlinear gloss and a *glosula*, or continuous exposition, on the same book. Lanfranc has left an exposition of the Pauline Epistles which is fuller and contains quite other material than his marginal and interlinear gloss. Anselm of Laon left a *glosula* as well as his *Gloss* on the Psalms. Though in this

¹ Robert of Tombelaine (d. about 1090), 'Prologus in Cantica', ed. Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta* (1723), 128.

case they are connected, they are not identical and the *glosula* is the more original of the two. Now it seems that Anselm did the same thing for the Pauline Epistles. A compilation which exists in two manuscripts of the first half of the twelfth century under the title *Sententie de Apostolo Excerpte* contains two extracts ascribed to him. One, which is headed *Anshelmus*, or *Magister A*, is short and perhaps rather characteristic:

‘If a man does not bring his common sense to bear upon Scripture, the more subtle, the madder, he is.’

The compiler says expressly of the other extract:

‘On this verse of the Apostle [Heb. ii. 10], Master Anselm expounding, we have gathered this sentence.’ It is a long discussion in which Anselm ‘proves that the redemption of the human race could only have been accomplished by God, not by a creature, angelic or human’.¹

Neither of these two sentences occurs in the *Gloss*. They read like extracts from a long, discursive exposition. It is only natural to regard them as fragments of a lost commentary or *glosula* and to hope that they may lead to its recovery. Continuous expositions on the Canticle, St. Matthew, St. John, and the Apocalypse are also ascribed to him. Their authenticity and their relationship to his *Gloss* have not yet been thoroughly studied. Some fragments of exposition on various books of the Bible attributed to him have quite recently been discovered, which may help us in time to recover the whole *corpus* of his exegesis.

This curious double exposition, which seems so wasteful at first sight, is less surprising if we remember that in the later thirteenth century the *bachelarius biblicus* or pupil-teacher had the task of ‘reading’ and construing the text and its *Gloss* in lectures for beginners, while the master expounded their doctrinal content to his more advanced students. At this early stage, Lanfranc and Anselm had to compose and

¹ O. Lottin reviewing R. M. Martin, ‘Œuvres de Robert de Melun’ in *Bulletin de Théol. anc. méd.* iii. 337*, suggests that Anselm may be the author of a commentary on the Pauline Epistles used by Robert of Melun, since the *Sententie de Apostolo Excerpte*, MS. Arundel 360, contain two sentences ascribed to Anselm (ff. 60–1). Miss Rathbone found the same extracts in the same work in MS. Heidelberg Salem 103, ff. 117^v–18^v. Dom Lottin has published the long sentence ‘Nouveaux fragments théologiques de l’école d’Anselme de Laon’, *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* xi (1939), 254–5. The short one reads: ‘Si quis sano sensu non contemperat scripturas, quanto subtilius intelligunt [*sic*], tanto amentior est.’ In MS. Salem 103 this is followed by a fresh heading *Cur anime infantium damnentur*, which suggests that the ensuing discussion is not meant to be ascribed to Anselm.

read aloud their own text-books, as well as give their magisterial exposition.

One very special form of teaching accounts for another type of exposition which is distinct from both the *glosula* and the gloss. It consisted in taking one's text as the basis of a grammar lesson, and must have corresponded to the practice of teaching children to read from the Psalter, at a more advanced stage. A fragment entitled *Dicta Lanfranci archiepiscopi in Iob* begins:

'*Horonias Hyades Rinocerota* are Greek accusatives; the Latin are *Horiones Hyades Rinocerotēs*.'¹

It is a collection of miscellaneous notes on grammar, strung together on the thread of the text. We have to skip over a century to the *Corrogationes Promethei* of Alexander Nequam to find an equivalent;² but this is just the kind of elementary stuff which would be least likely to survive. It is doubtful whether the masters themselves would have classified it as the study of Scripture, or as preparatory training in the liberal arts.

This curious relic of Lanfranc's teaching is useful to us as an introduction to the content of eleventh- and early twelfth-century glosses. Grammar has left its mark everywhere. It has penetrated into the *Gloss* on Lamentations. We find Gilbert the Universal supplementing the Fathers by an appreciation of the literary qualities of his text. The discipline of a century's concentration on grammar and rhetoric shows itself; Gilbert is less fanciful and more sophisticated than Cassiodorus:

'My silence will not silence the careful reader, in admiring the splendour of the rhetorical colours, the weight of the sentences, the flowers of speech. He will find for himself the number of heads of rhetoric, the choice dialectic, the subtle arguments. He will teach, untaught, the abjectness of the rhetorical "lamentation", the severity of the incitement to "indignation", and the combination of both. In order to satisfy beginners, however, I shall not disdain to set forth the correct definition of rhetorical "lamentation" and "indignation". "Lamentation", as Tully says, is speech provoking the

¹ MS. Tours 317, fo. 190^v. Lanfranc seems to start from Job ix. 9 and looks forward to xxxix. 9.

² Described by P. Meyer, 'Notice sur les *Corrogationes Promethei* d'Alexandre Neckam', *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, xxxv (1897), 14-15. Mr. R. W. Hunt tells me that Lanfranc's *Dicta* correspond closely to the grammatical commentary in the *Corrogationes*, though he knows of other parallels.

pity of the hearers. Its first head is that by which we show what happiness we had once and what misery we are in now, for example: *How doth the city sit solitary that was full of people* [Lam. i. 1]. "Indignation" is speech by which is professed either hate of a person or displeasure at an event; the first head here is from authority, when it is said: "What concern is this to the immortal gods?"¹ Similarly here: *Her Nazarites were whiter than snow, &c.* [Lam. iv. 7].

'I therefore initiate the more careful, penetrating reader by denoting in the first alphabet a few heads of "lamentation" and "indignation".'²

Even where the commentator of this period does not speak as a professional grammarian, he transfers technical terms. *Continuatio*, meaning 'the sequence of thought', or *inculcatio*, *per exaggerationem*, and so on, are used to describe the method of the sacred writers.

As a logician, he seeks to clarify the argument, follow the windings, and supply every missing link in the chain of thought. He suggests the implications of his author: 'as if he said . . .'; 'and it is as if he said . . .'; or he imagines an opponent, whose views his author is refuting: 'someone might say . . .'. A gloss by Drogo shows how the commentator reorganizes his text on logical lines:

'But knowing that man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, &c. [Gal. ii. 16]. For if this were so, then justification would not be in Christ alone. But justification is in Christ alone. For if justification is not in Christ alone, then we sin in deserting the law and seeking to be justified in Christ alone. But this is not so. For if it were so, then *Christ* would be *the minister of sin*. But *God forbid!* Therefore if Christ is not *the minister of sin*, we do not sin in seeking to be justified in him alone. But if we do not sin in seeking to be justified in him alone, then justification is in Christ alone. If this is so, then *by the works of the law no flesh shall be justified*. For if I say this, *I make myself a prevaricator*, if I desert the law, which, as I concede, justifies.'³

The method had its advantages in explaining to students the close reasoning of the Pauline Epistles. It was less happily applied to the Psalms. A gloss on the Psalter of the

¹ References to *Ad C. Herennium*, ed. F. Marx (Leipzig, 1923), 91, 70, 67.

² 'Gilbertus Universalis', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* vii. 252.

³ MS. Berne 334, fo. 120^v; 'La Glossa Ordinaria', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* ix. 390.

early twelfth century, which is probably based on a lost work of Lanfranc¹ and shows the logical, legalistic tendency of his gloss on the Apostle, reduces it to an absurdity. The Psalmist, who, in the words of Cassiodorus commenting on the chief of the penitential Psalms, 'has so wrought that his tears of penitence, running down the cheeks of posterity, shall never by any lapse of time be dried',² here becomes a contrite but knowledgeable prisoner-at-the-bar. We are in the atmosphere of the law court:

'Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy [Ps. l. 1]. This is said as if by a man under arrest, who does not attempt to plead innocent, since his crime is already manifest to his judges, but strives by his entreaties to win pardon, showing his penitence, putting forward his former merits, promising that he will behave well in future. First he prays forgiveness for his sin, then he confesses his crime of his own accord. It is as though he said: "*O God*" that is, my Creator, from whom my great and manifold iniquity is not hid, "*have mercy upon me according to thy great mercy*". Great iniquity calls for *great mercy*; that is, according to the measure of *thy mercy*, which is *great*, forgive me my great sin. *And according to the multitude*, that is, in the measure of *thy mercies* which are multiple in their effects, *blot out my iniquity* which is manifold; that is, by display of mercy *blot out* my murder, fraud, and adultery. Here he [David] shows that his sin was great, for it was adultery and much else besides; murder and fraud and many other things may be indicated here.

'Wash me yet more, that is, more than I am able to ask, that you may forgive what conscience fears, and add what my prayer does not presume; *from my iniquity*, that is, from adultery, by the faith of baptism; *and cleanse me from my sin*, that is, from murder, giving increase of virtue, that no filth may remain in me. Or *yet more*, that is, not only from actual but also from original sin *wash me and cleanse me*. Or *wash me yet more*, that is, as the iniquity is great, so may the washing be great. . . . *For I know my iniquity*, that is, since I grieve for my sin and make satisfaction, I know that thou wilt blot it out; for it is written: *God will not judge twice for the same offence*; and I do not grieve momentarily for my sin, but constantly. . . .

'To thee only have I sinned: and since thou alone art supremely good, who hast never done evil to me or another, I am more to blame in having sinned to thee, than if thou wert such a master as did evil to me or another; and this ought to have restrained me from sin. . . .

' . . . That thou mayst be justified in thy words, and mayst overcome

¹ Ibid. 374, n. 29.

² P.L. lxx. 358.

when thou art judged; that is, *when thou art judged* by men, who compare thee to others, *thou mayst overcome*, that is, thou mayst appear incomparably more worthy in the judgment of all men, and better in the sight of all thy creatures. Or *when thou art judged*; that is, when men blame thee for hunger, or too much rain, or such like, *thou mayst overcome*; for if they give heed to thy judgments, that is, why thou dost so, thou shalt be found in no way to blame. . . .

‘Or: *to thee only have I sinned*; it is for thee only to punish the sins of kings and prelates, who have no lord over them save God alone. If a man of the people sins, he sins to the king and God; but a king to God alone. . . .’¹

Drogo, Lanfranc, and Berengar use dialectic in order to tunnel underneath their text; they attempt to reconstruct the logical process in the mind of their author. Dialectic could also be used for building up a new theological structure with the text as a base. The patristic tradition of ‘questioning’ and discussing problems, which had been continued by ninth-century scholars, never seems to have lapsed altogether. Gerard of Czanad (martyred in 1046), an early, isolated figure of the theological revival, speaks of himself as ‘disputing according to his poor capacity’ in a commentary on Hebrews which is now lost.²

Neither Berengar, Drogo, nor Lanfranc inserts long theological discussions into his glosses; but these reappear in the works of Manegold, Bruno, Anselm, and Ralph of Laon. The lost work of Anselm on St. Paul probably contained *quaestiones*.³ Gilbert the Universal, in his continuous gloss on the Psalter, takes St. Bruno’s commentary as his ‘expositor’, expands St. Bruno’s discussions and puts them definitely into ‘*quaestio*’ form; thus Abailard’s use of the ‘*quaestio*’ in his commentaries was less original than has been thought. He was not the first to revive the tradition, if, indeed, revival was needed. In the second quarter of the century these *quaestiones* multiply in number, in relation to the size of the commentary, and the use of dialectic increases their length. Each pupil enlarges on his master.⁴

¹ MS. Royal 3 C V, fo. 104; see ‘La Glossa Ordinaria’, *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* ix. 376–7.

² ‘Quondam vero ibi, ubi dicitur in Psalmo: *ipsi peribunt, tu autem permanebis, disputans secundum mediocritatem meam*, in primo capitulo epistolae Pauli ad Hebraeos quicquid invenire ex apotheca Sancti Spiritus supra hoc potui, stilo latissimo commendavi.’ Quoted by G. Morin, ‘Un théologien ignoré du XI^e siècle, l’évêque-martyr Gérard de Czanad, O.S.B.’, *Rev. Bén.* xxvii (1910), 519.

³ O. Lottin, ‘Nouveaux Fragments’, &c., op. cit. (p. 46, n. 1), 246, n. 19.

⁴ See for example the *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli e Schola*

The result is a new type of exposition composed of two fairly distinct elements. The running explanation is broken into by theological questions which the text or its exposition has suggested. A well-known example is the *Magna Glosatura* of Peter the Lombard on the Pauline Epistles. This is stuffed full of *quaestiones* suggested by the *Gloss* of Anselm, which the Lombard's work incorporates.

The *quaestio* element in the commentary tended to grow at the expense of the simple exposition. Master Robert of Melun wrote a commentary on the Apostle (1145-55) in which *quaestiones* occupy a very much larger space than comment;¹ and this represented a clearly formulated policy on his part. Robert was a thorough, independent teacher, combining 'the wisely conservative tendencies of Laon' with 'the progressive and constructive spirit of Abailard'. He had a great preference for the *quaestio* as an exegetical instrument to the straightforward comment. He thought that too much glossing was being done.² He inveighed against the superficiality and pretentiousness of overlaying the text with unnecessary quotation and explanation, in this reacting against the school of Anselm.³ It seems, indeed, that glossing had become second nature to Anselm's pupils, and that they glossed whatever literature came within their reach. A long-suffering correspondent of one of them complains of the return of his own letter, so thickly glossed as to be unintelligible.⁴ Robert intended to prune this luxuriance by concentrating on the *quaestio*.

The next stage, logically, is a commentary composed altogether of *quaestiones*, with no explanatory notes at all.

Petri Abaelardi, ed. A. Landgraf (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1937). The commentator is a disciple of Abailard to whom he refers as 'the philosopher'; he writes 'before or not long after 1141'.

¹ R. M. Martin, 'Œuvres de Robert de Melun, II. *Questiones de Epistolis Pauli*' (*Spic. Sac. Lov.* xviii. 1938). See the introduction i-lviii.

² See the extracts from his unprinted *Summa* quoted by M. Grabmann, *Die Gesch. der schol. Methode*, ii (Freiburg i. B. 1911), 332-58.

³ F. Bliemetzrieder, 'Robert of Melun', &c., op. cit. (p. 35, n. 2).

⁴ Philip of Harvengt, *Ep. vii ad Ioannem*, P.L. cciii. 57. 'Meas mihi epistolas, quas vobis miseram, remisistis, sed eas primitus tam crebro glossis marginalibus respersistis, ut quasi transire in colorem alterum compellantur, et iam non esse quod fuerant videantur.' Philip says that in one of these glosses his correspondent indignantly protested against the assumption that he had learnt the Scriptures from childhood in the cloister; no, he was a pupil of Master Anselm: 'Super hunc versiculum vestra glossa: "In clauistro, inquit, et alibi, in scholis scil., didici; nec iuxta quorundam praesumptionem ipse me docui, sed a magistro Anselmo didici, quod non dico ut me commendem, sed ut vos tangam"' (ibid. 58).

The *quaestiones* were excerpted from the commentary of Robert of Melun and circulated separately as *Quaestiones de Epistolis Pauli*; and another, anonymous, set of *Quaestiones* on the Apostle seems to have been collected on this model.¹ In a second work of Robert, the *Quaestiones de divina pagina*, the text which originally served as a basis has disappeared. The modern editor can only tell us that many of the *quaestiones* seem to have been excerpted from a commentary on St. Matthew.² Then we have many collections of miscellaneous *Quaestiones* on theological matters. If they originally belonged to commentaries from which they were excerpted, these are untraceable; their existence is a mere hypothesis. The *Quaestiones de divina pagina* thus form an interesting link between two types of *quaestio* collections, one which can be traced back to an exegetical framework with some probability, one which cannot.

Quaestiones were not only excerpted from their original commentary and issued separately; they were also transferred to a different kind of work. When the Lombard compiled his *Sentences*, he transferred to them a number of questions from his *Magna Glosatura*; he was able to remove these *quaestiones* from their context, and to rearrange them in the systematic doctrinal scheme of the *Sentences*, without making any important verbal alteration. Here again we have a parallel in civil law. The *summulae* of the glossators were transferred from their original places in the margin of the Code or Digest and written out separately, or incorporated in collections of *distinctiones*. The few words at the beginning, which referred to a specific passage of the text, were eventually dropped out; but they sometimes survive in early copies as a 'clear and tangible illustration of that process by which the various forms of legal literature severed the umbilical cord that linked them to the text'.³

Hence we are faced with the difficult problem of distinguishing between exegesis and systematic doctrinal teaching. We know that later in the twelfth century some systematic instruction on doctrine was given, apart from the study of *sacra pagina*. It took the form of lectures on the Lombard's *Sentences*. We do not know exactly what stages it

¹ Printed in *P.L.* clxxv. 431-634 and wrongly ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor. R. M. Martin, *op. cit.* (p. 51, n. 1), xlvī-xlvii.

² *Ibid.* i. xxxii.

³ H. Kantorowicz, *Studies in the Glossators of the Roman Law* (Cambridge, 1938), 73-5, 87.

passed through before the *Sentences* were written. What theological teaching, as distinct from the exposition of Scripture, was customary before 1152? What theological text-books, if any, did the *Sentences* displace?

There seem to be two possibilities. The masters in monastic and cathedral schools had been in the habit of glossing various texts, the Athanasian creed, certain books of the Fathers, in addition to Scripture, and these glosses were doctrinal in content;¹ they may well have originated in lectures. We also have the sentence books of the school of Laon, where Christian doctrine is set forth systematically. Do these books represent actual teaching or merely private study? We know that both Abailard and Hugh of St. Victor delivered their systematic theological works in the form of lectures.² How far were they improving on ordinary academic procedure? A modern scholar, who devoted himself to the editing of Anselm, held that already, in Anselm's period, specialization was taking place, 'if not of masters at least of the subjects they taught'; after the preliminary *artes liberales*, came the three branches of sacred science: *divina pagina* (Bible studies), *fides catholica* (doctrine), *lex ecclesiastica* (canon law).³

Nevertheless in Anselm's period theology was still commonly referred to as though it were synonymous with *divina pagina*. One of his pupils writes: 'Deliberately I sought out Laon, where for some time I studied the Old and New Testaments under Master Anselm.'⁴ The opinions of modern scholars continue to differ. We still know too little of the organization of studies in the cathedral schools to decide on the limits of exegesis; we cannot tell how much of the material which comes down to us in other forms originated in biblical glosses, and ought to be counted as exegesis.

But however little we know of its details, the main tendency

¹ I am quoting information given me by Dr. B. Bischoff from his knowledge of early MSS. in Germany, and by Dr. K. Schleyer from his study of works on the Creed. Mr. Hunt tells me that Alexander Nequam refers to a marginal and interlinear gloss on the Creed.

² G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance du XII^e siècle* (Paris, Ottawa, 1933), 256-66.

³ F. Bliemetzrieder, 'Autour de l'œuvre théologique d'Anselme de Laon', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* i (1929), 480. He quotes the Bohemian chronicle of Cosmas, 1068, describing the qualifications of Mark, chaplain to the bishop of Prague: 'Marcus . . . in omnibus liberalibus artibus valde fuit bonus scholasticus, . . . in divina vero pagina interpres mirificus, in fide catholica et in lege ecclesiastica doctor magnificus.' *Fontes Rer. Bohem.* ii. 100.

⁴ Hugo Metellus, *Ep.* xxi, *M.G.H., Lib. de Lite*, iii. 354.

of the cathedral school is clear; it leads away from old-fashioned Bible studies. St. Gregory had identified theology with exegesis. The eleventh- and early twelfth-century masters were inclined to identify exegesis with theology. Their work appears to be brilliant but one-sided, if we remember the promise of the eighth and ninth centuries. We find the theological questioning but not the biblical scholarship. It is no accident that the two favourite books for commentators were the Psalter and the Pauline Epistles, their creative energy being centred in the latter; St. Paul provided the richest nourishment to the theologian and logician. Next came the Hexaemeron, because it provided an opportunity to discuss the questions of Creation and angelology. Original work on the Law, the historical books of the Old Testaments, the Prophets, the Gospels, and the Acts seems to be lacking.

This one-sided development was quite natural. The innumerable problems arising from the reception of Aristotelian logic and the study of canon and civil law, the new possibilities of reasoning, the urgent need for speculation and discussion, all these produced an atmosphere of haste and excitement which was unfavourable to biblical scholarship. The masters of the cathedral schools had neither the time nor the training to specialize in a very technical branch of Bible study. This applied to the philosophers and humanists of Chartres as much as to the theologians of Paris and Laon. Even Bec, the last of the great monastic schools, had been no exception. Lanfranc was a lawyer and logician; the genius of his pupil, St. Anselm of Canterbury, took another direction. His philosophical works eclipsed his biblical, which seem to have been lost.¹

And yet, looking closely, we can see all the ingredients of a revival of scholarship; they only lack someone to bring them together. There were friendly contacts between Christian and Jewish scholars, which offered the possibility of learning Hebrew. The *Disputatio Iudaei cum Christiano* by Gilbert Crispin, abbot of Westminster, written soon before 1098,² and the *Dialogus* between a Christian, a philosopher and a Jew, by Peter Abailard, show a tolerance and an appreciation of the Jewish point of view which contrast

¹ St. Anselm says: 'Tres tractatus pertinentes ad studium sacrae scripturae quondam feci . . .', *Dialogus de Veritate Prol.*, P.L. clviii (1853), 467.

² J. A. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin Abbot of Westminster* (Cambridge, 1911), 64.

strikingly with the bitterness of later controversy. Gilbert Crispin implies that his work had a background of actual conversations with Jews; and we have references to discussions in academic circles; Peter the Chanter, for instance, says that Gilbert de la Porrée converted some Jews, evidently in the course of an argument.¹ Abailard tells Heloise that he once listened to a Jew commenting on a text of Kings.² It is interesting to find the ten commandments and certain prophecies quoted in Hebrew as well as Latin, in the *Ysagoge in Theologiam*, a short theological *summa*, written probably 1148–52, which has been classified as ‘school of Abailard’.³

Another pupil of Abailard, commenting on a text of the Pauline Epistles, refers to his master’s questioning the Jews.⁴ He is interested himself in refuting Jewish arguments;⁵ but in one unmistakably personal passage he contrasts the Jewish love of letters favourably with the Christian:

‘If the Christians educate their sons, they do so not for God, but for gain, in order that the one brother, if he be a clerk, may help his father and mother and his other brothers. They say that a clerk will have no heir and whatever he has will be ours and the other brothers’. A black cloak and hood to go to church in, and his surplice, will be enough for *him*. But the Jews, out of zeal for God and love of the law, put as many sons as they have to letters, that each may understand God’s law. . . . A Jew, however poor, if he had ten sons would put them all to letters, not for gain, as the Christians do, but for the understanding of God’s law, and not only his sons, but his daughters.’⁶

Most significant of all is Abailard’s own recommendation to Heloise and the sisters of the Paraclite, that they should

¹ From the *Summa Abel*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 455, fo. 71^b: ‘Item nota quod magister Gilbertus sic convincit Iudeos, et conversi sunt, dicens: Que lex melior et potius observanda, an illa scil. que sine misericordia precipit hominem lapidari si colligat ligna in sabbato, an illa que habet misericordiam, et que dimittit non tantum septies sed etiam usque septuagies septies, et illud: Vade et amplius noli peccare?’ It seems certain that Gilbert de la Porrée is meant; the Chanter refers to him recognizably in another context as ‘Master Gilbert’.

² *Problemata Heloisae*, xxxvi, *P.L.* clxxviii. 718.

³ A. Landgraf, ‘Écrits théologiques de l’école d’Abélard’, *Spic. Sac. Lov.* xiv (1934), xl–lv.

⁴ *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis* (op. cit., p. 50, n. 4), i. 65: ‘Judei vero a philosopho sepe requisiti nullatenus dicunt se istam benedictionem posse assignare in carnali Ysaac, per quem vel cuius semen gentes potius extirpate sunt quam benedictionem susceperint.’ ‘The philosopher’ for him is his master, Abailard.

⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 259, 278–80.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 434.

learn Hebrew and Greek, in order to understand Scripture in the original. It may surprise us that so technical a study, which Abailard himself had scarcely attempted, should have struck him as a suitable occupation for nuns.¹ We must remember that Heloise and Abailard were Benedictines; *lectio divina* was prescribed by their Rule. When the teaching of Scripture in the secular schools came under the influence of the liberal arts, the monk, in reaction, withdrew into himself, and clung to the conception of *lectio divina* as a devotional rather than an intellectual exercise.² He concentrated on the spiritual exposition, which tended to be crowded out by other interests in the secular schools, though it was never rejected. Abailard was proposing that Heloise should return to the scholarly ideal of *lectio divina* as taught by St. Jerome, whom he quotes.

Certainly Abailard had a precedent. It was the monks, rather than the clerks, who had shown signs of reviving biblical scholarship. The Benedictine, Sigebert of Gembloux, teaching at Metz about 1070, 'was very dear to the Jews of the city because he was skilful in distinguishing the Hebrew truth from other editions; and he agreed with what they told him, if it were in accordance with the Hebrew truth'.³ St. Stephen Harding, abbot of Cîteaux, corrected the text of the Old Testament with the help of Jews, whom he consulted in French, as he tells us. His second volume was finished in 1109.⁴

A commentary on St. Paul of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, by a 'Master Lambert' who was perhaps Lambert, the canon of St. Omer who compiled the encyclopaedic *Liber Floridus* (finished 1120), also makes an interesting contrast with those which originated in well-known schools.⁵ The simple questions and answers raised by his differing authorities are innocent of dialectic. The interests of Master Lambert are less theological than historical. Instead of exploring the doctrinal content of his text, he likes to fill out

¹ *Ep.* ix, *P.L.* clxxviii. 325. See J. G. Sikes, *Peter Abailard* (Cambridge, 1932), 29-30, 43, on Abailard's knowledge of Hebrew.

² The best exponent of monastic exegesis in the early twelfth century is probably Hervé of Bourgdieu, some of whose commentaries are printed in *P.L.* clxxxi. He died about 1050. Dom Wilmart promises a study of his exegetical works, based on the manuscripts, 'Le Prologue d'Hervé de Bourgdieu, etc.', *Rev. Bén.* xxxv (1923), 256.

³ Godescalc, *Gesta Abbatum Gemblacensis*, *P.L.* clx. 641.

⁴ *Quam notitiam*, 9-11.

⁵ 'La Glossa Ordinaria', *op. cit.* (p. 41, n. 1), 372-4.

the references to Old Testament or even pagan history. He tells anecdotes, for instance, to illustrate the origin of idolatry among the Greeks and Egyptians. The solid, leisurely character of the work suggests a different, and from our point of view, a more hopeful background. Though perhaps not strictly monastic, it was evidently more peaceful and conducive to historical studies than Paris or Chartres.

We may doubt whether Heloise and her nuns made much progress in Hebrew; but Abailard's letter opens new possibilities. Biblical studies belonged to the cloister; the intellectuals of the twelfth century were flocking to the schools. A religious order, devoted both to *lectio divina* and to learning, settled at Paris, where theologians were interested in the Jews, might succeed in attracting intellectuals. The result might well be biblical scholarship which, once established, might find its way into the curriculum of the university.

CHAPTER III

THE VICTORINES

I. HUGH OF ST. VICTOR

THE *vita regularis et canonica* is one of the most interesting, and perhaps the most elusive, of twelfth-century religious ideals. The black cloak which he wore over his white habit distinguished the canon regular from the black and the white monks. He was not a monk, though he was a cloistered religious. His Rule was based on that drawn up by St. Augustine for secular clergy, widely adopted in Italy, France, and the Rhinelands by the end of the eleventh century and spreading to England early in the twelfth.¹

The movement has no St. Bernard to interpret it to us, no great succession of saints. The canons who comment on their Rule are curiously reticent. We know that its immediate practical object was the reform of the cathedral clergy; but it went far beyond. The laity enthusiastically founded new houses and the movement had special attractions for learned clerks.² A gulf had opened between monks and scholars. Contemporaries constantly stress their difference in function: the scholar learns and teaches; the monk prays and 'mourns'. The canons regular courageously refused to admit the dilemma.

This was especially true of the Abbey of St. Victor at Paris, founded in 1110.³ The original impulse came from Master William of Champeaux, Anselm's pupil and Abailard's opponent, who withdrew from the schools to a small chapel, in a meadow on the left bank of the Seine, intending to lead a life of prayer and solitude. His pupils followed him, and he continued to teach in his retirement; they formed the nucleus of this foundation. Until about 1140, at least, the Victorines seem to have kept an open school;⁴ they were

¹ See P. Mandonnet, *St Dominique: L'Idée, l'homme et l'œuvre*, ii (Paris, 1938); ii, *L'ordre régulier et l'imitation des Apôtres*, 103-92. His view that the *vita regularis et canonica* of the twelfth century was an attempt to anticipate the Order of Friars Preachers, which failed owing to the influence of the older monasticism, though suggestive, seems to be over-simplified.

² See R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xix (1936), 34.

³ Fourier Bonnard, *Histoire de l'Abbaye Royale de St Victor*, i (Paris). References, unless specially mentioned, will be found here.

⁴ B. Bischoff, 'Aus der Schule Hugos von St. Viktor', *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters*, ed. A. Lang, J. Lechner, M. Schmaus, *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, Suppl. Bd. iii, i (Münster, 1935), 247.

unique at Paris in being both *scholares* and *claustrales*. The abbey also served as a kind of chaplaincy to the Paris students. Naturally, then, it reflected the schools from which its personnel was largely recruited; among the canons were Frenchmen, Bretons, Normans, English, Scots, Norwegians, Germans, and Italians. Its position as a wealthy corporation, whose chief benefactors were the French royal family, brought the advantage of a magnificent library and of wide contacts, as well as distractions. St. Victor was drawn into the stormy politics of the reform movement; the prior was murdered in 1133 for supporting the bishop of Paris against royal servants; one of the Popes visited the abbey during his exile from Rome. A former royal chancellor, retired there after his disgrace at court, bringing with him his curiously humanist correspondence, to be copied into the abbey letter-book.¹ Daughter houses associated St. Victor with places as remote as Wigmore and Bristol. It had an important economic function as a repository for valuables; a number of letters in the Victorine collection are informal cheques, made out to the bearer and crossed by allusions intelligible only to the addressee, usually the prior or sub-prior: 'you remember what I said to you that day in the infirmary . . .'.²

We must set these activities against the orderly background of Victorine customs, which prescribe a routine, austere but temperate, in a well-regulated household, where dishes must be wiped before being laid upon the table-cloth. Only these activities and this background can explain the strange richness and diversity of the Victorine literature. We remember it best for the religious lyrics, which have all attached themselves to the Breton poet, Adam, and for the mystical theology of Hugh and Richard; it includes history, chronicles, geography, grammar, philosophy, psychology, education, together with the usual sermons, commentaries, and various kinds of manuals. Only these activities and this background can explain the unity of spirit which underlies the diversity, the special qualities common to the greater Victorines: 'subtlety with clarity, daring scrutiny of the

¹ Hugh of Champfleury, who died in 1175. See A. Wilmart, 'Un Billet littéraire sur le retour du printemps dans un manuscrit de St Victor', *Rev. Bén.* xlviii (1936), 349-54.

² A. Luchaire, 'Les Recueils épistolaires de l'Abbaye de St Victor', *Bibl. de la Faculté des Lettres*, viii (1899), 45-6; Duchesne, *Historia Francorum*, iv. 746, *Ep.* dxix.

mysteries of human being, a typical Victorine mysticism; yet a style which is lively, ingenious, sometimes eloquent, incomparably more attractive than that of the scholastics who succeeded.¹ These traits of Abbot Achard are characteristic of his school. They would also apply to Hugh of St. Victor; but he has in addition a personal impressiveness, which contemporaries recognized by calling him 'a second Augustine'.

It is typical of Hugh that we have a detailed record of how he died, 'gentle, pious, humble and good', whereas we know nothing of his life, apart from the fact that he came to St. Victor from Saxony, about 1118, after spending some years in the monastery of Hamersleben; that he taught from about 1125 until his death in 1141; that he managed, within this short space of time, to write works which fill three volumes of Migne. When we have subtracted the spurious, an unprinted grammar and chronicle with a few letters and notes on Scripture may replace them.²

Of all these works the most neglected by modern scholars are his *Notulae* on various passages of the Octateuch, printed in an uncritical edition, under the pompous modern title: *Adnotationes Elucidatoriae*.³ 'Ces notes offrent peu d'intérêt' is Hauréau's comment; his only good mark has gone to the treatment of Creation; for Hugh, 'although the most credulous of the medieval mystics, was less rashly realist than Duns Scot'. The neglect is particularly striking in comparison with the multitude of modern studies of Hugh's doctrinal and mystical works, his philosophy of history, his educational programme and his influence on the rising generation. 'His thought is biblical', we are often told; but this has roused no interest in his biblical studies. Actually, the *Notulae* mark a revival of scholarship. They opened up a new period, which in due course realized the scientific study desired and attempted by Hugh.

¹ G. Morin, 'Un traité faussement attribué à Adam de St Victor', *Rev. Bén.* xvi (1899), 218-19.

² On the works of Hugh see B. Hauréau, *Les Œuvres de Hugues de St-Victor* (Paris, 1886); J. de Ghellinck, 'La table des matières de la première édition des œuvres de Hugues de St-Victor', *Recherches de Science Religieuse*, i (1910), 270-89. Much remains to be done on the question of authenticity and the original form in many cases. I have not attempted to add anything to these studies. On his letters see L. Ott, 'Untersuchungen zur theologischen Briefliteratur der Frühscholastik', *Beitr. z. Gesch. der Phil. und Theol. des MAs*, xxxiv (1937). On his life see F. Vernet, *Dict. de Théol. Cath.* vii. 240 ff.

³ *P.L.* clxxv. 29-114.

Even had the *Notulae* been lost, his other work would have enabled one to deduce their character. Hugh resembles the first Augustine in the unity of his thought, the 'whole' being so rich and self-consistent that no part of it can be considered separately. And the 'whole' implies a new attitude towards the study of Scripture.

In the first place, Hugh was both a religious and a scholar. As a contemplative religious, his supreme object was union with God through prayer and meditation on God's works, especially the Scriptures. St. Gregory had shown him how to achieve this highest kind of wisdom through the mystical exposition. As a scholar, he appreciated the modern development of the liberal arts, with its stress on dialectic; he saw that the commentary on Scripture was turning into a collection of *Quaestiones* and had a rival in the sentence book, while the Fathers taught that all science ought to serve as an introduction and guide to Bible study. Hugh's problem, therefore, was to recall rebellious learning back to the scriptural framework of the *De Doctrina Christiana*, adapting the teaching of Rome and Carthage to the very different climate of twelfth-century Paris. He published a *refonte complète* of the *De Doctrina* in his *Didascalicon: de Studio Legendi*.¹

He begins with a description and analysis of contemporary sciences. The student of Scripture must welcome them: 'learn everything; you will find nothing superfluous; a narrow education displeases.'² But learn at leisure: 'more haste less speed'; 'it does not matter if you have not read everything; the number of books is infinite; do not pursue infinity'.³ Hugh is raising a warning finger against 'reading with glosses' in the feverish manner of the schools. To this hasty, superficial reading he opposes the traditional studies of the cloister, slow, wide, and deep.

How could one press these new sciences into the service of *lectio divina*? The problem admitted no radical solution for Hugh. A Victorine was firmly persuaded that 'all good things go in threes'.⁴ He was obeying no mere convention

¹ My references are to *P.L.* clxxvi. 739-838, since the new edition by C. H. Buttner (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1939) has not been accessible to me.

² vi. iii. 800-1.

³ v. vii. 796.

⁴ On the importance of three in Victorine philosophy see B. Geyer, *Die patristische und scholastische Philosophie* (Berlin, 1928), 267, 269. The treatise by Achard, *De discretionem animae, spiritus et mentis*, is another example; see G. Morin, 'Un traité inédit d'Achard de St-Victor', *Aus der Geisteswelt des Mittelalters*, op. cit. (p. 58, n. 4), 251-62.

when he expounded according to the three senses, but moving in the very rhythm of the universe. Learning, then, must be fitted into the threefold exposition. This could only be accomplished by developing both the form and the matter of traditional exegesis.

His changes in the form of *lectio divina* consist in introducing a special course of studies as a preliminary to the investigation of each sense. When the student has a sufficient grounding in the arts and sciences to approach the Scriptures, he must begin with the literal historical sense. He should therefore read Genesis, Exodus, Josue, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, the Gospels, and Acts, memorizing carefully the events, the persons, their time and place:

‘Do not despise these lesser things. They who despise the lesser things gradually fail. If you scorn to learn your alphabet, you will never even make your name as a grammarian. I know there are some who want to philosophise immediately and say that fairy tales should be left to the false apostles. Their learning is asinine. Do not imitate such men.’¹

Historical and geographical aids to study will therefore be needed at this stage;² Hugh himself prepared two chronicles and a map of the world.

Then the student may pass to allegory. This time he should proceed in the reverse order, beginning with those books of the New Testament which are richest in doctrine: St. Matthew, St. John, the Epistles, especially the Pauline, and the Apocalypse. Then he may safely pass from the New Testament to its foreshadowing. He may read the Hexaemeron, the Law, Isaias, the beginning and end of Ezechiel, Job, the Canticle, and Psalms.³

Just as the student needs geography and history for the literal sense, so he needs doctrine for the allegorical. Hugh compares systematic doctrinal teaching to the ‘second foundation’ of polished stones, which rises above the first, subterranean foundation of history, to support the wall of allegory.⁴ He wrote his *summa*, the *De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei*, for this purpose;⁵ the early drafts of it were given at St. Victor in a lecture course.⁶ For himself, Hugh avoided

¹ vi. iii. 799–802.

² Cf. *De Scripturis*, xviii, *P.L.* clxxv. 25–8.

³ *Didascalicon* vi. iv. vi, 805–6.

⁴ *Ibid.* iv. 802–5.

⁵ *Prologus: quare lectionem mutaverit*, 183; G. Paré, A. Brunet, P. Tremblay, *La Renaissance*, &c., op. cit. (p. 53, n. 2).

⁶ B. Bischoff, op. cit. (p. 58, n. 4).

dialectic; but by his skilful manœuvre he admitted the growing science of theology, with all its discussions, into the building of *lectio divina*. *Quaestiones* become polished stones in the wall.

The third sense, the tropological, occasions an equally brilliant feat of synthesis. So far, *lectio* has meant study or lecture; we 'divide' our text, distinguishing what is confused and investigating what is hidden.¹ The object of *lectio divina*, however, is twofold: we seek knowledge and virtue. The first two senses pertain to knowledge, the third to virtue.² Hence the *Didascalicon*, which treats of knowledge, says little of the third sense.³ Certain parts of the Bible and the works of St. Gregory are useful here.⁴ But this kind of study will lead the student away from books: 'By contemplating the works of God we learn what ours should be. All nature speaks of God, all nature teaches man.'⁵ *Lectio* and doctrine are for beginners. The religious aims at contemplation through study, meditation, prayer, and good works.⁶ Hence *lectio divina* includes two separate exercises: the scholastic *lectio* or lecture and the meditative reading or collation of St. Gregory and Cassian.

The one flaw in the *Didascalicon* from the point of view of exegesis is that Hugh still adheres to the confused Alexandrian terminology by which history, allegory, and tropology refer both to the subject-matter of Scripture and to the method of its exposition. 'Allegory', for instance, equals 'doctrine', whether it be the teaching of St. Paul in his Epistles or the commentator's allegorical exposition of the Law. It was a concession to tradition. Hugh himself, as he shows when he discusses the literal sense, was quite clear as to the difference between content and comment. He says that 'history' means *either* historical events *or* the primary meaning of the words.⁷

It is very interesting to find an anonymous letter, probably written by a Victorine, which clarifies and simplifies the scheme of the *Didascalicon*, so as to avoid this confusing double meaning of allegory. The writer is advising a young religious who comes to *lectio divina* without any scholastic education how he should proceed.⁸ After learning the

¹ *Didascalicon* vi. xii. 809.

² v. vi. 794.

³ vi. v. 805.

⁴ v. vii. 794.

⁵ vi. v. 805.

⁶ v. viii. 796-7; vi. xiii. 809.

⁷ vi. iii. 801.

⁸ *Epistola anonymi ad Hugonem amicum*, ed. Martène et Durand, *Thesaurum Novum Anecdotorum*, i. 487-8. The writer must have been either a Victorine or much influenced by Victorine thought.

names and order of the biblical books, he should read the whole Bible three or four times for the historical sense, noting carefully those passages which are not to be taken literally. Let him read the Law, Josue, Judges, Kings, Chronicles, together with Josephus and Egesippus, and various aids to study, especially the *Quaestiones* of St. Augustine, memorizing all the main historical facts. Then he should read the Prophets, noting what has been, and what remains to be fulfilled *ad litteram*. Then he should read the remaining historical books of the Old Testament, with Proverbs, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, Ecclesiastes; lastly the Psalms, Job, and the Canticle: these last three books have no useful literal meaning and should be interpreted, forthwith, of Christ and the Church. Then he should pass to the New Testament, with the appropriate reference books and a Gospel harmony.

Then, as a preparation for the allegorical exposition, he should study the sacraments of the Church 'which may be found at length in the book of Master Hugh'. Then, for tropology, the nature of virtues and vices, which is described in many books. Then read a manual on the liturgy, then the *De Doctrina Christiana* and the *De Civitate Dei*. Now at last he may read, according to the three senses, in any order of books he may choose.

Hugh effected a differentiation between the three senses, which enormously increased the dignity of the historical sense. Instead of contrasting the lowly foundation of the 'letter' with the higher spiritual senses, he groups together the letter and allegory, which pertain to knowledge and and contrasts them with tropology! The importance of the letter is constantly stressed.

Two sets of ideas were responsible for raising his opinion of the letter. First, his interest in history. Hugh constructed a Victorine version of the philosophy of history which he learnt from St. Augustine. He thought in terms of human religious history, the history of salvation:

'the Word Incarnate is our King, who came into the world to fight the devil; all the saints who were before his coming are as soldiers going before the royal presence; those who came after, and those to come, until the end of the world, are as soldiers following the King. And the King is in the midst of his army.'¹

¹ *De Sacramentis*, Prol. ii, P.L. clxxvi. 183.

Unlike the normal twelfth-century *summa*, the *De Sacramentis* is planned on historical instead of theological lines: the work of Creation and the work of Restoration. Book I takes us from the Creation to the Incarnation, and includes the sacraments of the natural and the Mosaic Law; Book II takes us to the Last Things, and includes the sacraments of the Church. Thus the history of the Church coincides with world history, in time, if not in scope: 'Holy Church began to exist in her faithful at the beginning, and shall last to the end. We believe that, from the beginning to the end, no period lacks its faithful to Christ.'¹

The inspired history of Scripture, therefore, is the primary source of world history for Hugh: 'The principles on which historical evolution works are, at the same time, our key to historical understanding'.² Hence the importance of investigating and establishing every detail.

Secondly: the sacramental trend of his thought, which is closely linked to the historical. Man's history is a history of sacraments. God has ordered the 'work of Restoration' through a series of sacraments, the natural, the Mosaic, the Christian. The 'work of Creation' is sacramental too; it is both historical and symbolical. Hugh follows up the days of creation with chapters on their mystical sense: *Sacramentum divinatorum operum*:

'I think that some great sacrament is recorded here; every soul is in darkness and disorder while it remains in sin. . . . It cannot be disposed in the order and form of righteousness, unless it is first enlightened, so that it can see its own peril, and divide the light from the darkness. . . .'³

Hugh was living in a period which saw a great expansion of sacramental practice and definition. We hear of his own personal devotion to the sacrament of the altar from the brother who witnessed his death.⁴ This gives us a clue to his special feeling for the letter of Scripture.

The Eucharistic controversy of the ninth century, which shaped the doctrine of transubstantiation, had inevitably suggested a comparison between Scripture and the sacrament. Scholars were too accustomed to compare Scripture to 'bread', or even to the 'body of Christ', to miss an analogy

¹ *De Arca Noe Mystica*, iii, op. cit. 685.

² W. A. Schneider, 'Geschichte und Geschichtsphilosophie bei Hugo von St. Victor', *Münstersche Beitr. z. Gesch.-Forsch.* iii. ii (Münster, 1933), 27.

³ *De Sacramentis*, i. i, xii. 195.

⁴ *Osberti Epistola de Morte Hugonis*, P.L. clxxv, clxii.

between the mystical exposition of Scripture and the consecration of the Host; in both cases the material is instrumental to the spiritual. The question at issue, *utrum in mysterio fiat an in veritate*, could be applied to passages of the Old Testament which had perplexed St. Augustine; are they literal or figurative? It was natural that opinions concerning one should react on the other.

Paschasius Radbertus comes close to the parallel between exposition and consecration in his *Liber de Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, where he defends transubstantiation against the 'spiritualist school', who hold that the Eucharist is a mere 'pledge', 'similitude', or 'sign'.¹ Paschasius maintains that the bread and wine are truly changed into the body and blood of Christ; at the same time, the action of the celebrant is outwardly symbolical or figurative, since he sacrifices daily at the altar in memory of one past event. What is a 'figure' then? No one, says Paschasius, who reads the Bible has any doubt that the figures of the Old Testament are mere foreshadowings of the New. How, then, can the Eucharist be at the same time a figure, or shadow of truth, and actually true? Are these two things compatible? He answers that a 'figure' need not necessarily stand for something shadowy and illusory. As children, he says, we first learn to read by letters or signs; then we arrive by gradual stages at an understanding of Scripture in its spiritual sense. The fact that the letters signify something other than themselves does not make them illusory, or anything other than that which they are.²

Paschasius goes on to the sacrifices of the Old Testament, which he contrasts with the Eucharist. They differed from the Christian sacrifices in that here the actions of the celebrant were merely symbolical or figurative. But he gives 'figurative' a wide and historical meaning: the patriarchs, longing for the grace of our faith, 'which was, as it were promised them by these means, partook of it inasmuch as they perceived the sacrament of truth by faith and in signs.'³

Now Paschasius, as an exegete, was quite exceptional in his grasp of the letter. None of his contemporaries, whose work has come down to us, distinguished the literal sense so

¹ P.L. CXX, 1255-1350.

² iv. 1277-9.

³ v. 1280-1: '... et si qua in his virtus sacraanda latuit, totum ex ista gratia fidei qua fruimur praeulsit: quam profecto illi per haec quasi promissam suspirantes participabantur tantumdem per fidem, et de figuris sacramentum veritatis intelligebant.'

clearly, or applied himself so closely to the literal meaning of biblical metaphor as Paschasius in his commentary on Lamentations.¹ This can hardly be accidental. The metaphors of Lamentations were 'figures of truth' in their literal sense, as the prophet intended them, and contained for Paschasius the fuller truth of Christian doctrine, when he expounded them afterwards allegorically.

Nor was it accidental that when the Eucharistic controversy revived, in the eleventh century, the contrary happened; St. Gregory's neglect of the letter served as an argument against transubstantiation. Berengar of Tours, or more probably one of his disciples, brings forward St. Gregory's preference for the spiritual sense of Scripture in support of a purely spiritual presence in the Eucharist:²

'According to passages from the holy Fathers we should believe, it seems, that after consecration the bread on the altar is changed into the substance of Christ's body spiritually, from his human nature, truly understood in him; and that he is present there in this way, the best. Hence Ezechiel says of the spiritual cubit which, we find in Gregory, cannot be understood in a fleshly sense: *these are the measures of the altar by the truest cubit, which is a cubit and a handbreadth*' [Ezech. xliii. 13].

St. Gregory, commenting on the vision of Ezechiel, says that the literal or fleshly sense would be absurd, the measurements of the building being physically inconceivable as the doors were bigger than the walls. According to him the survey in all its detail has no meaning except as a series of phrases which can be explained allegorically and morally. He does not ask how Ezechiel pictured the building, but goes straight to the spiritual sense.³

Controversy seldom ruffles the courteous manner of Hugh,

¹ See above, p. 28.

² M. Matronola, *Un testo inedito di Berengario di Tours e il Concilio Romano del 1079* (Orbis Romanus Biblioteca di Testi Medievali, Milan, 1936), 116: 'Secundum capitula quidem sanctorum patrum credendum videtur. panem sacerdotali benedictione facta in altari. verti in substantia corporis christi spiritaliter. ex humana natura eius in eo vere intellecta. et secundum hunc optimum modum vere esse ibi presentem. Unde de spiritali cubitu qui iuxta gregorium reperitur, carnaliter non potest intelligi. Ezechiel ait. *Iste mensure altaris in cubito verissimo. qui habebat cubitum et palmum.*' The ascription of this little treatise to Berengar himself has been disputed. See the reviews: *Bulletin de Théol. anc. méd.* iii (1938), 240*-2*, nos. 551-3.

³ *Hom. in Ezech.* ii. i, P.L. lxxvi. 936: 'Cuius videlicet civitatis aedificium accipi iuxta litteram nullatenus potest. Nam paulo post subdit hoc ipsum aedificium calamo sex cubitorum et palmo. . . . Quae cuncta stare iuxta litteram nullatenus valent.' Dom Matronola refers only to the *Liber Curae Pastoralis*, iii. 9; but this does not explain the 'spiritual cubit'.

but he deals severely with two errors, both 'spiritualist'. One concerns transubstantiation:

'What! is the sacrament of the altar not truth, because it is a sign? Then neither is Christ's death, because that is a sign, nor his resurrection, because that too is a sign. The Apostle clearly states that Christ's death and resurrection is a sign, a similitude, a representation, a sacrament, an example: Christ died *for our sins and rose again for our justification* [Rom. iv. 25]. . . . Was not this truth? Then Christ did not truly die and rise again . . . which God forbid. . . . Cannot the sacrament of the altar be a similitude and also truth?'¹

The second error concerns neglect of the literal meaning of Scripture, and is condemned in the *De Scripturis* and the *Didascalicon*. This is not so much 'perilous' as ridiculous. Hugh pokes quiet fun at those who hurry over the literal sense in their haste to reach the mystery:

'The mystical sense is only gathered from what the letter says, in the first place. I wonder how people have the face to boast themselves teachers of allegory, when they do not know the primary meaning of the letter. "We read the Scriptures", they say, "but we don't read the letter. The letter does not interest us. We teach allegory." How do you read Scripture then, if you don't read the letter? Subtract the letter and what is left? "We *read* the letter" they say, "but not according to the letter. We read allegory, and we expound the letter not literally but allegorically . . . ; as *lion*, according to the historical sense means a beast, but allegorically it means Christ. Therefore the word *lion* means Christ."'

Hugh patiently explains that the literal sense is not the *word*, but what it means; it may have a figurative meaning; and this belongs to the literal sense. To despise the literal sense is to despise the whole of sacred literature:

'If, as they say, we ought to leap straight from the letter to its spiritual meaning, then the metaphors and similes, which educate us spiritually, would have been included in the Scriptures by the Holy Spirit in vain. As the Apostle says: *That was first which is fleshly, afterwards that which is spiritual* [1 Cor. xv. 46]. Do not despise what is lowly in God's word, for by lowliness you will be enlightened to divinity. The outward form of God's word seems to you, perhaps, like dirt, so you trample it underfoot, like dirt, and despise what the letter tells you was done physically and visibly. But hear!

¹ *De Sac.* i. 8, vi. 466.

that dirt, which you trample, opened the eyes of the blind. Read Scripture then, and first learn carefully what it tells you was done in the flesh.’¹

We must not make the text: ‘*the letter killeth* an excuse for preferring our own ideas to the divine authors’.² Exposition includes three things: the letter, that is the actual words, their construction and syntax, which sometimes leaves nothing to be explained; the sense, which is what the divine writer means; a mere grammatical explanation of the words does not always suffice for this, since the writer may be expressing himself in an unusual or allusive way; lastly, the sentence, which is the deep meaning to be derived from the letter or the sense.³ Hugh illustrates the ‘sense’ significantly by a biblical prophecy: *And in that day, seven women shall take hold of one man, saying: We will eat our own bread, and wear our own apparel: only let us be called by thy name. Take away our reproach* [Isa. iv. 1]:

‘The words are plain and clear enough. You understand each separate clause: *seven women shall take hold of one man* and so on. But perhaps you cannot understand what it means as a whole. You do not know what the prophet wishes to say, whether he is promising good or threatening disaster. And, so it happens, you think that a passage whose literal meaning you do not grasp should be understood only in a spiritual sense. So you say that the *seven women* are the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit, who *shall take hold of one man*, that is Christ . . . who alone “takes away their reproach” that they may find in him a refuge. . . .

‘Lo! you have expounded spiritually and you do not understand what it means literally. But the prophet could mean something literally too by these words.’

Hugh explains that this is a prophecy of war and depopulation; in those days sterility was a woman’s worst ‘reproach’. There are many such passages in Scripture, especially in the Old Testament, which were quite intelligible to those who knew the idiom but, unless we take trouble, seem nonsense to us.⁴

When he passes to the sentence or deep meaning, Hugh puts forward a remarkable plea:

‘When we read the holy books, let us rather choose, from the great multitude of patristic explanations, which are drawn

¹ *De Scripturis*, v. 13–15.

² *Didascalicon*, vi. iv. 804.

³ *Ibid.* viii–xi. 806–9.

⁴ 807–8.

from few words [of the text], and corroborated by the Catholic faith, that which appears to have been certainly intended by the author. If this is uncertain, let us choose at least that explanation which is admissible in the context, and is consonant with the faith. If the context does not help us, then we must choose only that prescribed by the faith. It is one thing not to discern what the writer intended, another to err against piety. *If both are avoided, the fruit of reading is perfect. . . .*¹

We must not struggle to read our own 'sentence' into the Scriptures, but rather to make the 'sentence' of Scripture ours.¹

Hugh is criticizing the Gregorian tradition with its sublime disregard for the letter of Scripture. Similar recommendations to consider the context and the writers' meaning are commonplace in theological and legal works, the *Sic et Non* for instance; but here the illustration from Isaiah shows that Hugh thinks particularly of prophecy and history. He had read Paschasius on Lamentations.² He makes an open demand for the literal exegesis of which Paschasius had quietly set the example. Both men were objective.

Hugh also had a vivid visual imagination, in this being typical of his century. Symbolism demands a keen perception of the sign. The roles of text and picture, that we are accustomed to, seem to be reversed in much of the twelfth-century educational literature. You begin with your picture, to which the text is a commentary and illustration. The most abstract teaching must take its starting-point from some concrete shape which the pupil can have visibly depicted for him. Hugh makes use of this method in his two treatises on Noe's ark. The *De Arca Noe Morali* originated in collations to his fellow religious. As he sat one day among the brethren, answering their questions, they ended by all exclaiming at the restlessness of the human heart, begging him to tell the reason and the remedy. He therefore wrote down that part of his address which he knew to have specially pleased his audience.³ His subject, therefore, is psychological and religious: how to prepare our hearts for the peace of the divine indwelling; but he proceeds in a pictorial way:

'As an illustration of this spiritual building I shall give you Noe's ark, which your eye shall see outwardly that your soul

¹ 808-9. Cf. St. Aug. *De Gen. ad Lit.* I. xxi.

² See below, p. 77, n. 1.

³ *De Arca Noe Morali*, Prol., P.L. clxxvi. 617-19.

may be fashioned to its likeness inwardly. You shall see colours, shapes and figures which please the eye; but know that they are set there to teach you wisdom, understanding and virtue, to adorn your soul. The ark signifies the Church, and the Church is Christ's body; so I have drawn the whole person of Christ, head and members, in visible shape, to picture it for you clearly, that when you see the whole you may better be able to follow what is said of the parts.¹

The treatise therefore began with two pictures: Christ in majesty and a Noe's ark. Hugh is in such sympathy with his audience that we share their gratitude when these tangible forms appear. He keeps referring to himself as the artist. After discussing various opinions concerning the proportions of the ark, he continues:

'We have drawn this particular figure rather than the others, because the height of the sides cannot easily be shown on a plane surface. In *this* figure the beams rising from either side converge gradually until they meet at the top at a measure of one cubit.'²

In the accompanying treatise, the *De Arca Noe Mystica*, he describes himself drawing:

'First I find the centre of the flat surface where I mean to draw the ark. There, having fixed the point, I draw round it a small square to the measure of that cubit, in which the ark was completed. Then I draw another rather larger square around the first, so that the space between may appear to be the border of the cubit. Then I draw a cross inside the inner square, so that the ends meet each of the sides; and I paint it gold. Then I paint in the spaces between the cross and the square, the upper ones flame colour, the lower sky blue. . . .'

He explains the complicated symbolism of the cubit and its colours and then draws a diagram, carefully explaining how it represents the ark.³

Oh yes! we think of the Kindergarten. We smile when Hugh, with the gravity of one in the forefront of a scientific movement, rejects Origen's figure of the ark as top-heavy, and when he proposes 'little compartments', round the outside, for the amphibious beasts.⁴ Our smile is mistaken:

¹ Ibid. i. ii. 622.

² Ibid. i. iii. 629.

³ *De Arca Noe Mystica*, i. 681-4.

⁴ *De Arca Noe Morali*, i. iii. 626-8. The question of the provision for amphibious creatures during the flood is raised, but not solved, in the Pseudo-Augustinian treatise, *De Mirabilibus Sacrae Scripturae*, i. 5, *P.L.* xxxv. 2156 (see above, pp. 21-2).

a scientific movement is really afoot. Hugh is doing, for biblical history, what St. Anselm of Bec and Master Anselm had done for theology in their different ways. He is making the letter a proper subject for study, as they had made the content of the Christian faith. He wants to understand the literal meaning of Scripture exactly, so as to visualize the scene. He had that curiosity which set explorers in quest of Eldorado and led to the discovery of a continent.

II. HUGH AS AN EXEGETE

Hugh's exegesis conforms to his ideas. He is original in the books he chooses. He left no written work on the Pauline Epistles¹ and only a few notes on isolated texts of the Psalms, although these were the favourite books of contemporary commentators. He left notes on the literal sense of the Octateuch, homilies on part of Ecclesiastes, a threefold exposition of Lamentations, Joel, Abdias and perhaps part of Nahum,² with an exposition of the *Magnificat*, which, as

¹ The *Notae* and the *Quaestiones in Epistolas Pauli* printed among his works are spurious. Hauréau, *Les Œuvres*, &c., op. cit. (p. 60, n. 2), 27; the author may be Walter of St. Victor. H. Denifle, *Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei* (Mainz, 1906), 66.

² A. Wilmart, 'Le Commentaire sur le prophète Nahum attribué à Julien de Tolède', *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique de Toulouse*, vii-viii (1922), 253-79. Dom Wilmart shows that the unfinished commentary printed P.L. xcvi. 703-58 was written by a Victorine, and probably by Hugh; he maintains the authenticity of the commentaries on Joel and Abdias. G. Morin, 'Le Commentaire sur Nahum du Pseudo Julien, une œuvre de Richard de St Victor', *Rev. Bén.* xxxvii (1925), 404-5, argued that the commentaries on Joel and Nahum should both be ascribed to Richard of St. Victor, on the strength of Bale's *Index*, ed. Bates (Oxford, 1902), 362. Bale, however, is merely copying from Boston of Bury, and the evidence of Boston's *Registrum* is not clear. It will be discussed in the forthcoming edition by R. W. Hunt, R. A. B. Mynors, and W. A. Pantin. Ottaviano, 'Riccardo di S. Vittore', *Memorie della reale Accademia nazionale dei Lincei cl. di scienze morali*, &c., serie VI, vol. iv. v (1933), 428, argues against Richard on internal grounds.

The commentary on Nahum, wrongly entitled *Super Ionam Prophetam*, is ascribed to Richard of St. Victor in a thirteenth-century manuscript from the Sorbonne, recently acquired by E. P. Goldschmidt & Co., 45 Old Bond St., London (MS. no. 2 in list 30: *Mediaeval Literature and Education*, 1938, 3-5). Mr. Goldschmidt has identified it with a volume in the Sorbonne catalogue of 1338 published by L. Delisle, *Cabinet des mss.* ii. 107: *Summe morales et tractatus modernorum doctorum*; in this catalogue also the commentary is listed among the works of Richard: *Idem super Ionam*. He very kindly showed me the manuscript and I was able to identify the so-called treatise on Jonas with the commentary on Nahum.

The thirteenth-century ascription to Richard is not conclusive, particularly as the manuscript and the catalogue both ascribe to him the commentary on Abdias, which at one time formed part of the MS.: there is manuscript authority for attributing this to Hugh. I agree with Dom Wilmart that the style and content suggest Hugh rather than Richard.

we might expect, is mainly devotional, like his notes on the Psalter.

The order and date of these writings have never been studied and their origin is various. We know that the homilies on Ecclesiastes originated in collations or conferences, preached to the brothers, like his two treatises on the ark.¹ The commentaries are literary productions, which contain references to the 'reader'.² The original form of his *Notulae*³ is puzzling. There is a double tradition in the manuscripts. According to one tradition, the *Notulae* pass straight from Leviticus to Judges, and go on to Kings.⁴ According to another, this first series is followed by a second, containing notes on the books omitted, Numbers and Deuteronomy, and a whole series of additional notes, on the Pentateuch and Kings; some of these are comments on verses which have already been dealt with in the first series; others which the first tradition has in their logical place are omitted from the first series and given here.⁵ The printed edition represents a compromise. The notes on Numbers and Deuteronomy are printed together with the first series; the additional notes to Genesis come at the end of the notes on this book. This arrangement does not seem to have any manuscript authority. Andrew of St. Victor, who incorporated many of his master's notes into his own, was copying from a manuscript which represented the first tradition. He does not use the notes on Numbers and Deuteronomy, or the additional notes on Genesis. This is not necessarily an argument against their authenticity; but it does suggest that the two series of notes originated separately. It also suggests that Hugh's pupils collected them. It is most unlikely that Hugh's own written work could have taken so incoherent a form. 'We have only the débris of his teaching.'⁶ Peter

¹ *Praefatio in Ecclesiastes*, P.L. clxxv. 114: 'nuper coram vobis disserui.'

² *Com. in Ioel*, 350; *Com. in Abdiam*, 376.

³ 32-114.

⁴ Owing to war conditions I am not able to give a list of the Bibliothèque Nationale manuscripts of the *Notulae*.

⁵ MS. Trinity College B. I. 25 (23), 12th cent. from Christ Church, ff. 39^r-73^r.

⁶ A. Wilmart, 'Le Commentaire', &c., op. cit. (p. 72, n. 2), 265-6: '... nous n'avons guère que les débris de cette œuvre; il paraît bien que le célèbre maître ait pris habituellement pour texte de ses leçons l'Écriture et que les grands recueils des *Excerptiones* ou *Allégories* et *Miscellanea* ne soient autre chose que le résidu de ces cours, pour ne rien dire des diverses *Adnotationes* conservées et des gloses perdues ou inédites.' The *Excerptiones* and *Allegoriae* have now been attributed to Richard of St. Victor (see below, p. 81, n. 1), but the remark holds good for the *Adnotationes*, &c.

Comestor in the *Histories* or *Historia Scholastica* brings this remark home to us by quoting an opinion of Hugh on Genesis which is not found in any of the notes, though it is discussed by Andrew; Langton repeats another: 'Magister Hugo de Sancto Victore *dicebat* . . .'¹

We are therefore left guessing as to the form which his teaching took. These notes were either *scholia* on isolated passages, or they were extracted from the literal part of a literal, allegorical, and moral commentary, or from an introductory literal historical course on the Octateuch. In the latter case they foreshadowed the lectures which in the second half of the century were given on the *Histories*. This is quite probable, since Hugh was inventive in developing new forms. He seems to have been the first to open his course on the Pentateuch by glossing the prologue of St. Jerome *Desiderii mei*, which later became part of the academic routine.² His notes on Leviticus begin with a near approximation to the legal *summulae*, 'short writings which summarize systematically the content of a whole title or parts of it'; the form was invented by Bulgarus, who taught c. 1115-65.³ After a short prologue Hugh summarizes the various kinds of sacrifice prescribed in Leviticus, the persons who are to offer, the times and seasons. This is not quite equivalent to the usual prologue, known as *accessus* or *materia*, with its *causa scribendi*, *materia*, *intentio*, which was common to the grammarians, the theologians, and the lawyers. Summaries of the separate biblical books are rather rare, perhaps because the *Histories* provided a convenient substitute. Here again, Hugh was foreshadowing the *Histories*.

Hauréau, from a rapid glance, concluded that the *Notulae* were mainly mystical. On the contrary, they aim at being purely literal, as their title *ad litteram* indicates. Hugh has set himself an austere task and he is surprisingly successful:

'But Melchisedech the king of Salem, bringing forth bread and wine [Gen. xiv. 18], which was a token of peace among the gentiles, as the olive branch used to be. Note the order: *bringing forth*

¹ P.L. cxcviii. 1138. See B. Smalley, 'The School of Andrew of St. Victor', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* xi (1939), 147-8, 157.

² P.L. clxx. 29-32; it generally precedes his *Notulae* in the manuscripts. It is interesting to notice that a commentary on St. Paul which uses the *Gloss* and derives from the school of Laon, perhaps from Ralph of Laon himself, does not include commentaries on the prologues of St. Jerome. MS. Trinity College Cambridge B. I. 29 (27), ff. 48^r-103^v. See 'La Glossa Ordinaria', op. cit. (p. 41, n. 1), 367, n. 5.

³ H. Kantorowicz, op. cit. (p. 52, n. 3), 69.

these things, he *blessed*; by the most high God: blessing pertained to him, *for he was the priest of the most high God*. Or understand it thus: *bringing forth bread and wine* which were not mere food but a sacrifice, *for he was the priest, etc.*¹

Which of Hugh's contemporaries could have commented on the Melchisedech episode without explaining it as a 'type' of the Eucharist?

His prologue to Ecclesiastes² is even more striking, since here he was writing down material which he had actually preached, and the preacher was free to choose any means of edification which his text could give him:

'All Scripture, if expounded according to its own proper meaning [the literal], will gain in clarity and present itself to the reader's intelligence more easily. Many exegetes, who do not understand this virtue of Scripture, cloud over its seemly beauty by irrelevant comments. When they ought to disclose what is hidden, they obscure even that which is plain. I personally blame those who strive superstitiously to find a mystical sense and a deep allegory where none is, as much as those who obstinately deny it, when it is there.

'And so, in this work, I do not think that one should toil much after tropologies or mystical allegorical senses through the whole course of the argument, especially as the author himself aims less at improving, or at relating mysteries, than at moving the human heart to scorn worldly things by obviously true reasons and plain persuasion. I do not deny that many mysteries are included in the argument, especially in the latter part. As he proceeds, the author always, with increase of contemplation, rises above the visible ever more and more. But it is one thing to consider the writer's intention and his argument as a whole, another to think that certain of his *obiter dicta*, which have a mystical sense and must be understood spiritually, should not be passed over.

'So now we have undertaken to explain the superficial [literal] sense of his argument, so persuasive and beautiful, that you may rejoice in understanding what has been written for you, this modest little discourse opening the way to intelligence.'

Hugh accordingly devotes himself to the Preacher's argument and its application. He resembles St. John Chrysostom in his capacity to draw a moral from the literal sense. His notes on the Psalter fall into the same category. Lacking the

¹ 51. The printed edition has: 'quod signum est pacis inter gentiles.' I prefer *erat* as Andrew has it.

² 113-15.

material for a literal, historical explanation, he dwells on the mood of the Psalmist and draws out the full implication of his words.

The commentaries of Lamentations, Joel, and Abdias show us the logical working out of his method, since here the exposition is threefold. He distinguishes with unusual care between the senses and carries out his own teaching on metaphor and prophetic idiom in his treatment of the literal sense. Nor is he afraid to broach the difficult problem which arises from it: How shall we explain a prophecy which may refer either to a near or a distant event, to Old Testament history or to the coming of Christ?

‘That which is said: *The word of the Lord that came to Joel*: signifies in its spiritual sense that the fulfilment of the prophecy which follows belongs chiefly to the Incarnation of the Word [on account of the mystical meaning of *Joel* and *Phatuel*]. It can be understood *more correctly*, however, as referring to the siege and depopulation of the city and territory of Joel, when the town was besieged by the Assyrians under Senacherib, the land laid waste, the aspect of people and country, by the magnitude of disaster wholly changed.’¹

Hugh consistently refers the prophecy to Old Testament history, in its literal sense, until he comes to the text Joel ii. 28, which is quoted in Acts:

‘*And it shall come to pass after this, that I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh.* This text is properly to be understood as referring to the advent of Christ. The prophetic riddle is solved with certainty, if we understand it to refer to the sending of the Paraclete.’

He defends this, against the Jews, as the primary, literal meaning of the prophecy.²

Living over a century before St. Thomas, Hugh seems to have grasped the Thomist principle that the clue to prophecy and metaphor is the writer’s intention; the literal sense includes everything which the sacred writer meant to say. But he has occasional lapses from his own standard. In one passage he prefers the less probable alternative in explaining the letter, because it makes a better foundation for the allegory. *All they that passed by have clapped their hands at thee: they have hissed and wagged their heads at the daughter of Jerusalem*

¹ From the prologue to Joel, which is not included with the commentary in *P.L.* lxxv. 321; it is edited by A. Wilmart, ‘*Le Commentaire*’, &c., op. cit. (p. 72, n. 2), 266–8.

² 353–4.

[Lam. ii. 15]. The literal sense is obviously that hostile neighbours derided the afflictions of the Jews. Hugh maintains, without much conviction, that clapping and hissing need not necessarily denote hostility; the 'wayfarers' were compassionate friends: 'we may take clapping to denote wonder, hissing despair, wagging the head sympathy', although in the next verse they proceed from the opposite emotion of contempt and ridicule. He explains that this little manipulation will provide a better spiritual exposition. The 'wayfarers' signify allegorically the Fathers, tropologically the saints of the Church, deploring the heresies or the sins of their fellow Christians!¹

Hugh's philosophy teaches him to value the letter. It does not teach him to regard the letter as a good in itself. His great service to exegesis was to lay more stress on the literal interpretation *relatively* to the spiritual, and to develop the sources for it. He is comparatively independent in his attitude to those sources which were already known and used. On Lamentations, where the standard work was Paschasius, Hugh explains the letter independently, though on the same lines. Similarly on Joel and Abdias he does not resort to verbal copying of the standard source, St. Jerome, except occasionally where the matter is highly technical. On the Octateuch he discusses the same kind of problems as had interested St. Augustine, but by no means always the identical ones.

He went beyond the customary sources however. He followed the advice of St. Jerome and St. Augustine to study Scripture in the original, as far as he could. Andrew tells us that his master 'learnt the literal sense of the Pentateuch from the Jews', and this is confirmed by the *Notulae*. In many places, and particularly for difficult and uncertain readings, he compares the Vulgate with a literal Latin translation of the Hebrew, noting the variations and additions. He sometimes prefers the Hebrew to the Vulgate; it is *expressius*, or *evidentius* to him, just as the original Greek of the Gospel had been to John the Scot. He continues this process in the *Notulae* on Judges and Kings.

In this, Hugh was only following the example of St.

¹ 296-7: '... Quia tamen secundum spirituales intelligentiam convenientius haec ad compassionem referuntur, dicere convenienter possumus quod per plausum non insultatio, sed simpliciter manuum collisio exprimatur. . . .'
—Hugh has taken over the whole discussion from Paschasius (*P.L.* cxx. 1132) and enlarged upon it.

Stephen Harding; but he went further. Instead of depending entirely on French conversation with his Jewish teachers, he made some effort to learn Hebrew himself and transliterated certain words of the Hebrew text into Latin.¹

He consulted the Jews on their exegetical traditions, as well as their text. Here he was following the example of Sigebert of Gembloux, and, unlike Sigebert, he has recorded them. On Joel i. 15: *Ah Ah Ah for the day* he says that he will not pass by in silence what he has heard from 'a certain Jew, fluent and expert in the fables of Gamaliel': the Prophet seeks to avert God's wrath by recalling the three tribulations of his people, saying: *Ah* for the Egyptians, *Ah* for the Assyrians, *Ah* for the Babylonians.² This is a perplexing passage. The Hebrew text, which Hugh does not use for the Prophets as he did for the Octateuch, has only 'Ahāh. Yet the explanation is typically Midrashic and does not seem to be quoted from any known Christian source. Is it possible that the 'fluent and expert Jew' invented an *ad hoc* explanation for the version quoted by his questioner?

Hugh also cites the Jewish opinion on the messianic prophecy Joel ii. 32, and this again cannot be traced to his principal Christian source, St. Jerome:

'Everything which we have expounded of Christ's coming, and the sending of the Paraclete, the Jews refer to their Messias, in whom, they say, the worship of the Law is to be fully restored. The Jewish people alone will receive him. They alone will call on him, and he will hear.'³

The references to Jews in the *Notulae* are more frequent and interesting. He was in closer contact with them at this stage. The two opinions quoted on Joel might have come from hearsay or some unknown work in Latin. Those quoted in the *Notulae* prove that Hugh's teachers belonged to the contemporary North French school of rationalist exegetes founded by Rashi (d. 1105).⁴ He gives several explanations which can be found in Rashi,⁵ one which is explicitly ascribed by a later Jewish commentator to Joseph Kara,⁶ Hugh's exact contemporary, and three, all on

¹ The Hebrew characters in the printed edition of the *Notulae* were added by his pious editors; the manuscripts, however, show that the Latin transliterations in the printed edition are genuine.

² 333.

³ 358.

⁴ See below, pp. 121-8.

⁵ On Gen. vi. 2; 45. On Gen. xlix. 12; 59.

⁶ On Gen. iv. 23; 44. The *opinio antiqua* comes from Rashi, the *quidam* corresponds to Joseph Kara.

Exodus, which can be found in Rashi's grandson Rashbam, another of his contemporaries and leader of the rationalist school.¹ The idea of conversations at St. Victor between the Christian mystic and the grandson of Rashi has in it an element of the fabulous, though it differs from many famous 'meetings' in being historically possible. Hugh refers to his teachers as *Hebraei*; perhaps he only meant that one particular Jew was giving him various opinions, traditional in some cases, taught by contemporary scholars in others: 'my people say . . .'. The identity and number of his *Hebraei* must remain obscure.

He notes their opinions with learned interest and detachment. On the blessing of Juda and Joseph [Gen. xlix. 10, 26] for instance he says:²

'The sceptre shall not be taken away from Juda; that is, a certain overlordship [dominium] which Juda had, as that he entered first into the Red Sea, or that he made the first oblation in the tabernacle which was built in the desert, or minor precedence of this sort. Till he come that is to be sent: the Hebrew reads: "till he come to Silo"; that is where Samuel anointed Saul as king; and the sense is "up to Saul and after him Juda shall have the leadership" because he delivered Joseph from his brethren. As for what follows: and he shall be the expectation of nations, the Jews refer it all to Juda,³ because the Lord answered of his tribe: "Juda shall go up before you to war" [Jud. i. 1-2]; nations is what he calls the various tribes. . . .

'The blessings of thy father are strengthened with the blessings of his fathers: until the desire of the everlasting hills should come; that is until the desired of all nations should come, who is Christ. Or "until the everlasting hills should be joined to the sky", as the Hebrew has it, that is: "blessed be Joseph everywhere"; as the saying goes: "where earth and sky meet", that is: "the whole world over".'

Hugh has merely contrasted the Jewish and Christian explanations without discussion. On the spoiling of the Egyptians he prefers the Christian opinion, apparently because it strikes him as intrinsically more probable. Rashbam, wishing to defend the Jews against the charge of borrowing without giving back, says that the Israelites received silver from the Egyptians as 'a complete and

¹ On Exod. i. 15; 61. On Exod. iii. 22; 62. On Exod. iv. 10; 62.

² 59-60.

³ The printed edition omits *Judam*: 'Hebraei hoc tatum ad ipsum referunt, de qua Dominus respondit: . . .'. The manuscripts generally have it and also Andrew.

unconditioned gift, since [as the previous verse says]: *I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians*. This is its real meaning and a refutation of sectarians [Christians].’ Hugh quotes this opinion and adds: ‘But our commentators say, with more probability, that they borrowed.’¹ This is typical of his cautious attitude to the new sources he is opening up.

Hebrew studies represent a small fraction of Hugh’s manifold activities. They are more important as promise than performance. They stimulated two of his pupils, Richard and Andrew, possibly others whose names are forgotten, to continue the work. We can study his principles of exegesis more fully in their writings than in the few notes which have come down to us from his teaching.

This, in fact, is the real significance of the Victorine programme. We know that it was destined to failure, taken as a whole. In his attempt to include the whole of sacred science in *sacra pagina* Hugh was struggling with forces stronger than himself. He was stretching the scriptural framework of learning beyond its endurance. The arts and sciences were to serve as an introduction to Bible study, theology or doctrine as an introduction to the allegorical exposition. The fruits of these studies would appear in the scholastic *lectio* which in turn was a preliminary to monastic contemplation. To all this he added new ideals of biblical scholarship.

The programme was both too conservative and too modern. It would have made any kind of academic specialization quite impossible and yet specialization was just what it demanded. Moreover it implied too high a tension between the academic and the religious life. Hugh’s ideal exegete was a combination of Paris master and contemplative religious which only exceptional circumstances could produce. We know that, by the end of the century, the mystical, anti-scholastic current at St. Victor had conquered the more intellectual current which Hugh represented, while in the schools theology was breaking away from exegesis. Hugh had been pouring new wine into old bottles. Thanks to his pupils, some of the wine was saved when the bottles burst.

III. RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR

The two disciples concentrated each on one aspect of their master’s exegesis: Richard on the spiritual, Andrew the

literal; Richard being primarily a mystic, Andrew wholly a biblical scholar. Since Hugh had taught them to regard the letter as necessary, however, Richard made some contribution to scholarship, although it was never his main interest. He left notes on certain parts of the Psalter, a commentary on the Cantic, *Allegoriae in Vetus et Novum Testamentum*,¹ a treatise on the dream interpreted by Daniel, and the *Benjamin Minor* and *Benjamin Major*, where the family of Jacob and the tabernacle serve as a framework for his teaching on contemplation; all these are spiritual. His commentary on the Apocalypse and his explanation of certain texts of the Apostle² are mainly doctrinal. But his treatise on the Emanuel prophecy contains both literal and spiritual exposition. His tracts on the tabernacle (intended as a basis for the *Benjamin Major*) and the temple, on the visions of Ezechiel, and his chronology of the kings of Israel and Juda, are purely literal.³ These last two groups are interesting for the light they throw on Hugh's teaching, and for comparison with Andrew, who interpreted the master in a different way.

Richard was a Scot. He came to St. Victor during the abbacy of Gilduin (1113-55) and died there in 1173. It is not certain that Hugh ever held an administrative office;⁴ Andrew was far from successful in the office he held; Richard, on the other hand, was made sub-prior about 1159 and prior in 1162. The abbey letter-books show us how constantly people turned to him for help in their affairs. He must have possessed the practical common sense and organizing capacity which have so often distinguished the mystics. He was less scholarly than Andrew and less intellectual than Hugh. What attracted him in the letter of Scripture was not the movement of human history but the jewels, the songs, and the flowers. The sound of the luxurious oriental metaphors in the Cantic enchanted him, though the literal meaning struck him as so much nonsense. The spiritualists, reproved by Hugh, regarded the 'fleshly sense'

¹ Printed among the works of Hugh of St. Victor, *P.L.* clxxv. 638-828. See P. S. Moore, 'The authorship of the *Allegoriae super Vetus et Novum Testamentum*', *The New Scholasticism*, ix (1935), 209-25. They form the second part of a work on history and geography, printed in *P.L.* clxxvii. 191-824. It is an introduction to Bible study.

² On Richard's theological exegesis see L. Ott, *op. cit.* (p. 60, n. 2).

³ All these are printed in *P.L.* cxcvi.

⁴ He perhaps became prior in 1133; J. de Ghellinck, *Le Mouvement théologique du XII^e siècle* (Paris, 1914), 113, n. 1.

as 'dirt'; Richard found it desirable. Puritans held that if closely studied it might rouse the passions which lead to sin; Richard accepted its pleasures with gratitude. Scripture provides for man's double nature; it raises the spirit by providing the sense.¹

We must add to his sensitiveness to beauty a strong interest in architecture and then we shall understand his very individual type of exegesis. It is almost a parody of Hugh on the Noe's ark. Richard made long, minute descriptions of the tabernacle and Solomon's temple, where he managed to find 'delightful droll carvings'.² He depicted the beasts of Ezechiel's vision so graphically that one sees them, the eagle, 'having a longer neck than the others', dominating the group. He worked out a scheme of Ezechiel's building, by elaborate formulae, diagrams and sketches, showing all the features of late romanesque.

In expounding the visions of Ezechiel, Richard was undertaking what St. Gregory had refused to do on the score that they had no literal meaning. He was applying his master's criticism of Gregorian methods in a typical case. He therefore justifies himself for contradicting St. Gregory in a very interesting prologue:³ times have changed; our attitude to the letter nowadays is different:

'Many take much more pleasure in holy Scripture when they can perceive some suitable literal meaning. The building of the spiritual interpretation is more firmly established, so they think, when aptly grounded in the solid historical sense. Who can lay or firmly establish a solid foundation in a formless void? The mystical senses are extracted and formed from fitting comparisons of the things contained in the letter. How then, they ask, can the letter lead us to a spiritual meaning in those places where it contradicts itself, or is merely ridiculous? Persons of this kind are often scandalised rather than edified when they come to such passages of Scripture.

'The ancient Fathers, on the contrary, were glad to find passages which according to the letter could not stand. These "absurdities" of the letter enabled them to force certain persons, who accepted holy Scripture but mocked at allegorical interpretations, to resort to a spiritual meaning, since they dared not deny that the Holy Spirit had written nothing irrelevant, however foolish the letter might sound. This is the

¹ *Benjamin Minor*, xv, xxiv, 10, 11, 17.

² *De Templo Salomonis*, 236: 'delectabiles quasdam et jocosas caelaturas habebat.'

³ *Prologus in visionem Ezechielis*, 527-8.

reason, in my opinion, why the ancient Fathers passed over in silence the literal exposition in certain more difficult passages, or treated it rather carelessly, when by perseverance they could doubtless have found a much more satisfying explanation than any of the moderns.

'But here I must say that certain persons, as though for reverence to the Fathers, will not attempt to fill their omissions, lest they should seem to presume. Having this excuse for laziness, they idle at leisure; they mock, deride, ridicule other people's efforts to seek and find the truth. . . . For our part, however, let us take with all greediness what the Fathers have discussed; let us investigate eagerly what they have left untouched; let us offer with all generosity the fruits of our research, that we may fulfil that which is written: *Many shall pass over, and knowledge shall be manifold* [Dan. xii. 4].

'Lo! blessed Gregory expounds the wonderful vision of celestial creatures, seen by the prophet Ezechiel, according to the mystical sense. But what it means literally he does not say. Of the second vision he says that it cannot mean anything according to the letter. This is true, but only according to the way he takes it here. If we decide to consider the same passage in a different way, perhaps we may be able to extract some suitable literal meaning. . . .'

When he approaches the second vision Richard excuses himself again:¹

'I know that the Fathers passed carelessly over certain passages of Scripture, which they could easily have grasped. They wanted to find, and rejoiced in, passages which according to the letter could not stand; their intention was at least by these means to persuade men that allegory ought to be accepted, which very few were willing to admit in those days. Let no one take scandal if I say something other, or otherwise, than he finds in his glosses. Let no one scorn me for desiring to glean. Let it not surprise him that something has escaped the Fathers, or rather that they, who received the divine commandment and the divine boon to fill so many volumes with corn from the harvest of Scripture, have left something intentionally to the poor.

'Do you wish to honour and defend the authority of the Fathers? We cannot honour the lovers of truth more truly than by seeking, finding, teaching, defending and loving the truth. Do not ask whether what I say is new, but whether it is true.'

St. Gregory took certain measurements to refer to the

whole building of Ezechiel's vision; hence he concluded that the door was bigger than the wall; hence that the letter was nonsense. Richard argues that the measurement refers not to the whole but only to one part,¹ which could be fitted into the rest of the vision. The very minuteness of the description teaches us how actual the building was to the mind of Ezechiel, and how carefully we ought to reconstruct its details.²

Lest we should feel impatient at his lengthy protestations, we have a series of homilies on the spiritual sense of Ezechiel by Richard's contemporary Robert of Cricklade, who was strongly in favour of the Gregorian view:

'Here notice and watch carefully to see how the prophet called the building sometimes temple, sometimes tabernacle, sometimes house, often sanctuary, here city. Hence is openly confuted the foolish raving of those who think that the building can be pieced together, or depicted physically, when it is not only a building, but also a city.'³

The Victorines' campaign for careful consideration of the letter evidently met with opposition from commentators who preferred the old style.

Richard also followed his master's example in consulting Jews. He made inquiries from them before drawing up his chronological tables, and conflated their opinion with the Christian.⁴ This is significant in view of his controversy with Andrew, whom he rebukes for Judaizing. He did not disapprove of Andrew's sources, but thought they were used in an uncritical way. His discussions on chronological problems convinced him that the Jews were no wiser than himself on many points.⁵ In his tract on the tabernacle he protests against certain persons (Andrew) who accept Josephus as authoritative, just because he was a Jew.⁶

¹ 540-1.

² 539.

³ MS. Pembroke College Cambridge 30. fo. 145^a: 'Hic notandum et sollerter intuumdum quoniam edificium aliquando vocabat templum, quandoque tabernaculum, interdum domum, plerumque sanctuariam, nunc civitatem nominat. Hinc stultitia delirantium aperte deprehenditur qui edificium illud putant materialiter posse componi sive depingi, quod non solum edificium est; sed etiam civitas.' Gerald of Wales says that Robert of Cricklade knew Hebrew: *De Principis Inst.*, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), viii. 65. There is no trace of it in these homilies.

⁴ *De Concordia Temporum*, 241: 'Unde et antequam de his juxta petitionem tuam aliquid scriberem, per Iudaeos Iudaeorum scripta consului, et tam eorum scripta quam nostra in unam sententiam concurrere didici.''

⁵ *Ibid.*: '... quamvis et ipsis hucusque veritas ipsa latuerit.'

⁶ *De Tabernaculo*, 214.

‘They think that he (as a Jew) saw the tabernacle, and wrote what was known to himself as true. It seems clear to me, from the witness of Scripture that he never saw it. . . . Let Josephus be gladly admitted in those things which he knew from experience, or took from authoritative Scripture. Where he judges otherwise, I confidently prefer Exodus, or whatever other books I find in the canon, to him.’

Richard composed a long refutation, in two books, of Andrew’s Judaizing interpretation of the Emanuel prophecy [Isa. vii. 14];¹ Andrew gave the explanation told him by the Jews as the literal sense of the prophecy. Richard showed more understanding than Andrew of their master’s teaching on prophecy in his defence of the Christian interpretation as literal. It is not Andrew’s consultation with Jews that shocks him, but the acceptance of their view when it undermines the whole Christian interpretation of the Old Testament, and endangers the faith of simple folk. If Andrew failed to understand the prophecy, he should at least have refrained from raising doubts in the minds of others. Here again, Richard maintains the tradition of Hugh of St. Victor, who would certainly have reproved Andrew for exaggerating.

But we miss something of Hugh in Richard’s exegesis. The enterprise has gone. He is not deeply interested in scholarship. He does not refer to the Hebrew text. If his literal works were the only fruits of Hugh’s teaching, the Victorine movement would hardly be worth investigating. It would amount to an attempt at clear sentence construction, accurate chronology and accurate description of certain objects or appearances of sacred history. It would force one to the depressing conclusion, that if this was what they meant by literal exegesis, commentators might as well have kept to their allegories and tropes.

Hugh’s promise is fulfilled in Andrew, who, being merely a scholar, is unknown to text-books and almost unknown to modern works of reference.

¹ *De Emanuele*, 601–66.

CHAPTER IV

ANDREW OF ST. VICTOR

I. ANDREW'S LIFE AND CHARACTER¹

WE happen to have more records of Andrew's life than we have of Hugh's or of Richard's. They are precious for the help they give us in dating his commentaries and also for the light they throw on his character. We need all the details we can get, since Andrew was an unusual person. He could only have flourished in the Victorine circle; even there it is a little difficult to believe in him.

Andrew studied and taught at St. Victor; he had produced his commentary on the Octateuch by about 1150. Then the canons of a daughter house of St. Victor in Herefordshire elected him as their first abbot. The *History of the Foundation of Wigmore* tells us how the canons 'heard talk of Master Andrew, who was then prior of St. Victor at Paris, master of divinity, serious and of many noble virtues. They sent to him, begging that he would consent to come to them, accept the office of abbot, and be their governor and prelate in the ordering of their affairs.' This is our only reference to Andrew as prior of St. Victor; it is possible that he had only just been appointed when he was called to Herefordshire. The canons received him 'with great honour' and he was installed by the bishop of Hereford.

This distant colony of St. Victor was a baronial foundation which had been in existence for some years. The troubled state of the Welsh Marches in Stephen's reign, and the capriciousness of their patron, Hugh de Mortimer, who kept moving them from place to place, had involved the canons in constant difficulty and prevented their settling down under an abbot. Soon after Andrew's arrival they were moved again to a site near Wigmore, which they found so inconvenient that they asked leave to choose another.

¹ The material for this chapter, unless specially mentioned, is taken from B. Smalley, 'Andrew of St. Victor, Abbot of Wigmore: a twelfth-century Hebraist', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* x (1938), 358-73. The main source is the Anglo-Norman *History of the Foundation of Wigmore* printed by Dugdale, *Mon. Ang.* vi. 444-8, and T. Wright, *History of Ludlow* (Ludlow, 1852), 102-32. Their original, which I have seen in photographs, is now MS. 224 of the University Library, Chicago, ff. 1-5. This is a fourteenth-century copy. The *History* was written by a canon of Wigmore at some time in the thirteenth century; he collected his material from men who had seen the original foundation of the house in Stephen's reign.

Permission was granted; so now they had the responsible task of deciding on a permanent home for the community. At this point a 'distance' arose between Andrew and the canons. He 'left them to their own devices and returned to his house of St. Victor'. The cause is not stated in the *Wigmore History*, but we can read between the lines: the canons replaced him by Roger, who was 'only a novice in the order but prudent in managing the temporalities'.

Andrew took up his work again at St. Victor, after what evidently seemed to him a long time: '*sicut olim . . . ita et nunc . . .*' he says referring to his first exposition.¹ He had been away for a few years, at most, between 1147 and 1154-5. He expounded the Prophets and then, 'compelled by the many urgent requests of his friends', he started on the books of Solomon and finished Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.

Perhaps at some time while this work was in progress, he visited Rome, and was much impressed by the antiquities. This seems to be the most likely explanation of the curious fact that the only topographical references in his works occur in the exposition of Daniel, and both are to Rome. He compares the *tribes* [Dan. iii. 7] to the families of ancient Rome and to those of 'to-day', the Pierleoni and Frangipani;² on *the gate of Ulai* [Dan. viii. 2] he says: 'so at Rome there is a gate called the Tiburtine.'³ The traditional interpretation of the ten horns in Daniel's vision as 'ten kings' who would divide the Roman Empire between them, before their final destruction by anti-Christ, rouses him to violent protest; he maintains that Rome will never be divided.⁴ Then, in his exposition of Ecclesiastes, he seizes on the opportunity given him by the word *pomaria* [ii. 5] to explain that though here it means 'orchards', the Roman *pomerium* was the ancient boundary of the city.⁵

Meanwhile the canons of Wigmore had chosen a magnificent site, which their patron had granted, and the capable Roger had died, leaving the house in a much stronger position than he found it. Following the known tendency of institutions to alternate between an administrator and a

¹ See below, p. 272.

² MS. Pembroke College Cambridge 45, fo. 117^d: see 'Andrew of St. Victor'.

³ Ibid., fo. 125^a: '*Sicut Rome quedam porta est que dicitur Tibertina.*'

⁴ See below, pp. 101-2.

⁵ MS. C.C.C. Cambridge 30, fo. 110^b: '*Pomerium locus erat Rome intra agrum Populi Romani totius urbis circuitum pone muros regionibus certis determinans qui faciebat finem urbani auspicii; hoc autem in loco pomaria vocat ubi pomifere arbores cuncti generis erant consite.*'

scholar, they decided that they would like to recall Andrew. The bishop of Hereford wrote a tactful, deprecating letter on their behalf to the abbot of St. Victor: the canons of Wigmore, having lost their shepherd, wished to return to the pasture whence had come their first shepherd, and to be under the yoke of obedience. They also sent 'the three most prudent of the brethren' to St. Victor to beg Master Andrew to come and be their abbot as before. They persuaded him 'with great difficulty'. 'He came with them, was received with great joy, and remained as their abbot, just as he had been.' This happened between the springs of the years 1161 and 1163, or very soon after.

This time Andrew stayed on at Wigmore and seems to have lost touch with the schools. Richard of St. Victor, who died in 1173, words his undated attack on Andrew's exposition of Isaias as though Andrew had long been lost sight of. He argues, not with 'Master Andrew', but with the disciples who 'still exist' and uphold their master's teaching. Their master was still living at that time. He died on Oct. 19, 1175, about three years after the foundation of his new abbey church. The canons buried him 'with great honour'.

The canon who wrote the Wigmore *History* has managed to draw, in a few lines, a character which Andrew himself confirms. He is not expansive as a writer, being too fascinated by the meaning of his text to make it into a peg for moral reflections. For that reason one listens intently when he speaks. Three of his texts induce him to break his silence and allow us to hear for a moment the Victorine, 'mestre de divinite, et de nobles vertues et plusurs, et sobre', whose reputation had travelled to the Welsh March.

On 1 Kings i. 3, *to adore and to offer sacrifice*, he suddenly gives a little exhortation on prayer:

'A good order! We should first *adore* God, and afterwards *sacrifice* to him. Adore him, not only with bowed head and bended knee, but in true humbleness of heart and complete submission of mind, as well as of bodily frame. He has no regard for your gift if you withdraw from him your heart. Beseech God first with pious, devout prayers. Afterwards you shall please him with sacrifices and gifts.'¹

¹ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 51^c: 'Bonus ordo! Primum est Deum adorandum, deinde illi sacrificandum. Adora eum non sola incurvatione capitis et poplitis curvatione sed vera cordis humiliatione et omnimoda tam corporis quam mentis subiectione. Non respicit ad munus tuum si subtraxeris illi cor tuum. Roga Deum prius piis et devotis precibus, postea placebis eum hostiis et muneribus.'

With the same unexpectedness he bursts out on Dan. vii. 16: *I went near to one of them that stood by and asked the truth of him concerning all these things:*

'Of Daniel it is said: art thou even wiser than Daniel? Yet Daniel asks what he knows not from one who knows. Then why do *you*, surely less than Daniel, prefer from false shame to remain in ignorance, and neglect to ask what you do not know from the learned and wise?

'Notice carefully that he "asks the truth" from "those that stand by", not from those who "minister" and hurry about. Wisdom is learnt from the leisured, in time of leisure, not from the hurried in time of disturbance.'

Prov. xxxi. 3: *Give not . . . thy riches to destroy kings* draws from him the exclamation:

'Professed religious should be ashamed to ask for so many and such unnecessary things; yes, and extort them from their dispensors!'²

Perhaps these last two comments were inspired by the 'distance' between Andrew and the canons of Wigmore; perhaps they show the wistful impatience of a bystander obliged to hurry and minister. The search for truth in study was Andrew's ruling passion and he must have hated to be disturbed. His last work, on Ecclesiastes, has a passage which becomes very personal if we put it into its background. *Hanc occupationem pessimam dedit Deus filiis hominum* [Eccles. i. 13] served as a text for many sermons against vain curiosity and superfluous questions. Andrew had only to turn to the homilies of his master Hugh. But he cannot bear to read the text in this way. He makes the Preacher justify inquisitiveness instead of condemning it:

'He calls enquiry and research "this worst occupation" because much labour brings little progress therein. He says that God hath given it *to the children of men, to be exercised therein*, because of God's gift, the soul, whose natural instinct is to

¹ MS. Pembroke 45, fo. 124^d: '*et accessi ad unum de assistantibus et veritatem querebam ab eo. Si Daniel de quo dictum est: unquam tu Daniele sapientior es? a sciente querit quod ignorat, cur tu nescire pudens prave quam querere malens, illo satis inferior a doctis et sapientibus viris querente re [querere?] quod ignoras pigritaris? Diligenter adverte quod ab assistantibus et non administrantibus et discurrentibus veritatem querit. Ab otiosis enim et in tempore otii et non a discurrentibus et perturbationis tempore sapientia discitur.*'

² MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 106^a: '*. . . pudeat ergo religionem professos tot et tanta superflua querentes, immo a dispensatoribus suis extorquentes.*'

seek and search out concerning all things, that she may as it were pursue and capture the hidden fugitive, truth, with what speed she can; for all truth is hidden.'¹

His feelings on having his natural instincts diverted from 'this worst occupation', and being sent to the wild Welsh border, are perhaps expressed in the one letter of the Victorine collection which is probably by him. It reads as the literary exercise of a scholar, and alludes to some turn of fortune which is never specified. Our only clue to its date is that he calls himself not Abbot Andrew but Brother.

'To his beloved brother Thomas, his brother Andrew, most forsaken, most wretched of all men, greeting, and the good wishes he has for himself.

Dearest Brother,

Fortune's wheel for me is spinning swiftly, changeful as the gusts of spring. She raised me lately to a better state, only to thrust me down to the bottommost depths of adversity. She smiled on me a little while ago with cheerful countenance; now turning on me with a frown she takes away even my wish to live. Woe! woe! to this brute who is allowed such boisterous rule, such power to rage against us! Indeed I would rather my last hour had come than that she had so overwhelmed me.'²

We can now ask the question which usually comes at the beginning of a biographical notice. It has been left to the end because we have no direct evidence for its solution. Was Andrew an Englishman, as the bibliographers tell us? The statement goes back to John Bale, who says that Andrew of St. Victor was 'Anglus natione'. Bale took all the rest of the

¹ MS. C.C.C. 109^c: 'Inquisitionem et investigationem de omnibus *pessimam* appellat *occupationem* quia multum in ea laboratur et parum proficitur. *Dedit Deus filiis hominum.* Divinitus data hominibus hec occupatio esse dicitur *ut occuparentur in ea* propter animam a Deo datam, cui insitum et naturale est inquirere et investigare de omnibus, ut quasi fugientem et latentem veritatem—latet enim omne verum—quibus potest pedibus consequatur et comprehendat.'

² MS. Vat. Regin. Lat. 179, fo. 203: 'Fratrī suo dilectissimo Tome frater suus desolatissimus et hominum quorumvis miserrimus Andreas salutem, et quicquid sibi prosperitatis optat accidere.'

'Frater Karissime michi valde volubilis omnique incertior verni flamine facta est rota fortune que me nunc ad statum meliorem eductum in infimas summe calamitatis partes detrusit. Hec paulo ante michi facie arridebat sereniori, nunc vultu lugubri in me invecta etiam spem vivendi michi subtraxit. Vh'e vh'e huiusmodi belue cui tam violentum dominium cui tanta in nos seviendi facultas permittitur! Mallem quidem michi supremos dies imminere quam hanc tam graviter in me corruiſſe.'

I owe this transcript to the kindness of Dom Wilmart.

notice from Boston of Bury; he cannot have been deducing from Andrew's abbacy at Wigmore, since this was unknown to him. Therefore Bale had some source of information which is now lost, or he was guessing. When we find that Pits, in copying from Bale, has emphasized 'Anglus natione' to 'in Anglia parentibus Anglis natus', and suggested that Richard's attack on Andrew was due to the prejudice of a Scot against an Englishman, we realize how a bibliographical legend will grow like a snowball.

The *History of the Foundation of Wigmore* seems about to be helpful, and then disappoints us. It tells us that the first canons who came to the March from St. Victor found their neighbours so rude and hostile that they asked for other Victorines, who knew the language and manners of the natives, to replace them; so three canons, 'born and bred in England', were sent to be the nucleus of the new house. We may suppose that they followed up their 'native' policy by electing an Englishman as their first abbot; but the *History* says nothing of this.

Then we have the evidence of Andrew's attitude towards the French language, which again is negative. It must have been common for Englishmen in the twelfth century to be tri-lingual, speaking English, French, and Latin; and he was living in Paris. We can deduce nothing definite from the fact that he introduces French words into his glosses by the expressions: 'Romana locutione dicere solemus'; 'in vulgari usu loquendi . . .', or 'quam vulgo dicunt . . .', showing that he regarded French as the current speech both for scholars and for the common people. His more usual expression, however, is 'in lingua Francorum' or 'quod Franci vocant . . .'; here it is tempting, but rather fanciful, to see a slight distinction in his mind between himself and the native Frenchman. We have nothing so conclusive as Stephen Langton's report of an Englishman who thought the English cry 'Wassail' a hundred times more cheerful than 'esto hilaris!'.¹

We must either leave the question undecided, or we must argue from the dangerous premiss of national characteristics. But these are more respectable evidence now than they would have been a few years ago. Professor Powicke has dwelt convincingly on the essential Englishness of Stephen Langton.² Miss West has come to a definite conclusion in her careful study of *Courtoisie* in Anglo-Norman Literature:

¹ 'Studies on the Commentaries', 7, n. 2.

² *Christian Life in the Middle Ages and Other Essays* (Oxford, 1935), 130-46.

'the modified form in which courtoisie presents itself would seem to point to the fact that already in the England of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with its curiously mixed population, there was beginning to show itself that sense of concrete reality apparently so typical of the Englishman of modern times.'¹

The Anglo-Saxon on the eve of the Conquest may have been a good artist and poet; he was not intellectual.² The great English saint, Wulfstan of Worcester, won his village sports in boyhood and enjoyed being read to because it sent him to sleep.³ The Anglo-Norman had more intellectual energy; but he generally preferred historical writing or biblical commentaries to abstract speculation, research and observation to reasoning. Typically, Peter of Blois disagrees with opinion, universally received in the schools, that 'he who has one virtue has all', and the subtle distinction which was used to support it, because in common experience he found it untrue.⁴

It is difficult not to apply these recent studies to Andrew. Here we have a scholar at Paris who shows, not even that disapproval which betrays attraction, but a total lack of interest in the work of theological speculation and synthesis which goes on around him. He is independent enough to devote himself, in this unpropitious milieu, to an obscure and neglected branch of study which, we may note, was not his own original idea but his master's. He is pious, in a reserved way, without being mystical. He is a humanist, with a taste for antiquities. He revels in detail and shows confusion of thought when faced with the need for distinction and definition. He admits, with cheerful indifference, that he cannot hold his own against the Jews in argument.

My own impression is that Pits was quite right, however unscientific in his method, and that Andrew was English or Anglo-Norman. It grew on me slowly from a study of his writings, which shall be allowed to speak for themselves.

¹ C. B. West, *Courtoisie in Anglo-Norman Literature* (Oxford, 1938), 168.

² See the account of English culture on the eve of the Conquest by R. W. Chambers, who takes a favourable view of it, *The Continuity of English Prose* (London, 1932).

³ *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Camden Soc., London, 1928), 6; 49.

⁴ R. W. Southern, 'Some New Letters of Peter of Blois', *English Historical Review*, liv (1937), 416-19.

II. ANDREW AS AN EXEGETE

We must begin by asking, from Andrew himself if possible, what exactly he sets out to do. An important clue to the aim of his work will be its form. Roughly speaking, a twelfth-century exegete had three possibilities. He could comment on or gloss his text consecutively. According to William of Conches,¹ the commentator expounds the sense; the glossator expounds both words and sense. Glosses differ from commentaries in that they are usually meant to give students an adequate knowledge of their set text and the standard works on it. A commentary is a product of the cloister or the study, a gloss of the class-room; it often comes down to us as a *reportatio*, the notes taken by a student from his master's lectures. A third possibility was to expound, not the whole text but select passages, to pick out only those which presented special interest or difficulty. The last was a well-established tradition, going back to the patristic *scholia*.

Andrew has chosen this third category. In the manuscripts his works are called *notule*, *compilationes*, *expositio historica*. Only one copy has been labelled, and that by a later hand, as *glose*. Andrew himself speaks of his *expositiuncula*, *explanatiuncula*, or his *libri explanationum*. His exposition of the Octateuch is a development of Hugh's *Notulae*. Though he treats the Prophets and Proverbs more fully, and provides them with prologues, even here he makes no attempt to expound every passage. William of Conches would say that he 'glosses' some of his texts, where the words are obscure, and 'comments' on others. He is not giving a course of lectures, which would oblige him to cover a certain ground; he writes 'for himself', as he tells us, and is free to concentrate on what interests him. On the other hand, his 'little explanations' are more modest in their scope than 'commentaries', a word which Andrew applies to the vast works of St. Jerome. He has, in fact, taken the *scholia* form of exposition and expanded it to suit his purpose.

It is a specialist's purpose. Andrew claims to be expounding the historical sense. He excludes the spiritual exposition on the one hand and theological questions on the other. He

¹ Dr. R. Klibansky kindly allows me to quote from his forthcoming book: 'in his (William's) recently discovered commentary on Macrobius, both "commentum" and "glosa" are concerned with the meaning and thought of the author, but "glosa", in addition, follows the text, closely explaining its structure and phrasing. In other words, the "glosa", by giving the *continuatio litterae*, expounds both the words and the sense; the "commentum" the sense only.'

has no time for homiletics or for doctrinal discussion. The angelology, which tradition had attached to the first verse of Scripture, is swept aside. Moses, intentionally as Andrew believes, has 'passed by altogether the creation of the angels, and their confirmation or fall'; he will do likewise:

'We too, of set purpose, shall omit what others think should be said about the angels on this passage, even should we have views.'¹

He refers elsewhere to his views on the nature of angels and dismisses them, promptly, if with a certain regret: *non est huius temporis nec negotii*.² He will consider only what he thinks necessary for an understanding of the letter.

Into this severely limited objective he puts 'all his energy', and he approaches it in the spirit of a pioneer. He is going to add something to the explanations of the Fathers. Like Richard of St. Victor, Andrew has to justify himself for his originality. Being more original than Richard, he is at once more defiant and more deprecating, more adventurous and more apologetic. In his prologues to the Prophets he lets himself go. A cataract of eloquence, which can scarcely be reproduced in modern English, tells of his hopes and fears before the task that he sets himself; its difficulties appal and yet enchant him:³

'*Dark waters in the clouds of the air*' [Ps. xvii. 12]:

Andrew's readers would at once supply the *Gloss*: 'hidden teaching is in the prophets'; for he continues:

'Our mental powers are so restrained and clouded that we may not perceive the fruitful showers of wholesome wisdom through the darkness of the prophets' words. But God commanded *light to shine out of the darkness* [2 Cor. iv. 6]. Strong is his hand. By instruments of his choice and at his pleasure he can pierce with some light even our mental darkness, illumine with the ray of understanding, restore to sight the blindness of the heart. Mighty, yet most munificent is God, in virtue of his unbegotten kindness. Whosoever asks and would receive, he

¹ MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 356, fo. 1^d: 'Sed quoniam creationem angelorum consulto eum pretermisisse et his solis que ad hominum utilitatem spectant intendisse diximus, nos quoque quid alii in hac operis parte de angelis dicendum esse senserint, quid etiam ipsi nos, si quid inde sentiamus, ex industria pretermisimus.' Fo. 2^b: 'Sed ut iam diximus de angelis et de hoc eorum celo sive sit, sive non sit, penitus omittimus.' And see below, p. 105.

² MS. Pembroke 45, fo. 129^c.

³ The Latin text of the longer passages quoted in this chapter is given in the appendix.

will pour, abundantly as ocean water, the bright wisdom of their desire.

‘Wisdom, too, offers herself to her lovers and goes to meet her studious ones. More: she faithfully promises the reward of blessedness to those who knock early at the gate of her hostel, joy of life everlasting to those who proclaim her. With joy she allures and gently draws us by the hope of her promises. For even should all others be excluded, righteousness is its own reward, and what more righteous for a rational creature than to investigate the truth? We think so. We have given ourselves over wholly to this, the toilsome search for wisdom, toilsome but pleasant, wholesome, fructifying; to this, I say, this pleasant toil, this toilsome pleasure.

‘Since our poverty does not permit us to reach that studiousness which proclaims wisdom, which brings heavenly glory to its adepts, and is of service to posterity, let us at least with our every endeavour strive after a humbler kind, which *uttereth not her voice in the streets nor crieth out at the head of multitudes* [Prov. i. 20–21], distrusting her strength:

“Some point of moral progress each may gain,
Though to aspire beyond it should prove vain.”¹

Fool! You cannot do what you will, if you will not do what you can. He is not altogether useless who is useful to himself.

‘But suppose that, relying not on our own strength, which is slight, almost nothing, presuming on divine mercy’s help, we should attempt that first studiousness we mentioned, that which overtops and excels: let no one conclude us to be so besotted with vanity as to set ourselves up as an author or as a teacher. God forbid that we should be so foolish as to stretch out self-confidently for what we cannot reach, exceeding our measure. It is better to stay safely on one’s own level than to rise vainly above it. Enough for us, and those like us, if we thoroughly take in what we are taught.

‘Are you fearful and chary of danger? Do not presume to teach; learning is safer. Are you soft and supine, impatient of toil? Lay aside the tablets and the pen; be content to read. But know that a strenuous knight must not shun every danger, nor a brave man fear toil. He who withdraws his body and his brain from toil must go without its profits. Worth, honour, glory, training, proof, patience, countless such things are the profits of toil, and he who refuses it will rightly be deprived of all these. Fear does not deter us from toil that brings profit. Would that our lack of skill and diffidence did not so either!

‘I have decided to concoct some little explanation of the obscure prophetic writings, relying on divine help rather than

¹ Horace, *Eph.* v. 1–32, trans. J. Conington (London, 1880), 98.

on my own strength, as I did in time past, for the Pentateuch, Josue, Judges, Malachim. Their abysmal depth, perplexing intricacy, the startling diversity of people and things, have turned me in some measure from my purpose, fearing to begin the work.

"What!" you say, "don't you expect and dread murmurs, backbiting, poisonous hisses, sniffs, frowns of displeasure, curling of the lip?"

"Yes indeed. Envy I should expect and dread, were I doing ought to arouse it. Were I writing anything new, important and enviable I should have reason, in these bad days, to fear what you have said. But I do not strive to din my work in fastidious ears, deaf to almost everything save the past.

"No one is obliged to take my gift."¹

'I keep watch for myself; I work for myself. Consulting my poverty, which cannot always have commentaries and glossed books to hand, I have collected together what is scattered and diffused through them, pertaining to the historical sense, and have concentrated it, as it were into one *corpus*. Lastly, if I could discover anything on the Prophets, whom I decided to study with especial care because of their obscurity, or on other books of the Old Testament, as the Jews or certain others, and my own study, showed it to me, or as God revealed it (for he sometimes grants even this to his servants), I thought good to insert it, lest what had been usefully learnt should be forgotten.'

We must strip this apology of its conventional modesty and its catch phrases. Andrew realizes that he is doing something new; so he tries to disarm criticism by protesting that he does it purely for his own satisfaction. His writings are an aid to memory for his own use. He works because he likes it.

Having let off steam in his general prologue, he approaches the prophecy of Isaias more calmly. His defence is more rational and more thorough-going. Here he pleads, not the insufficiency of his library, but that of his sources. The Fathers have not explained everything. Andrew becomes interesting. He does not, like Richard, attribute their silence to lack of opportunity or suggest that, given time, they would have done better than the moderns. Nor does he repeat the 'progress theory', the 'dwarfs on the shoulders of giants', which we connect with Bernard of Chartres.² It is true that Andrew quotes the famous phrase from Priscian;

¹ Ovid, *ex P.* iii. b. 58.

² See R. Klibansky, 'Standing on the shoulders of giants', *Isis*, xxvi (1936), 147-9.

but he puts it as 'a question expecting the answer no': *are we, because younger, more far sighted than our elders?* Andrew prefers to justify himself by the very nature of truth. She is unfathomable. There is always something fresh to discover. He takes the example of St. Jerome, who, despite his admiration for the Greek exegetes, above all for Origen, thought it not superfluous to expound the Prophets. St. Jerome's fore-runners had not exhausted their subject; nor does the Latin Father, 'as though he swore by their words', keep always closely to their footprints:

'He did not judge it idle, rash, or presumptuous, to apply himself to the same quest as the Fathers, who laboured before him to explain the Scriptures, or never would he, that wise, good, industrious man, who minded the proverb: "be sparing of time" have toiled so hard and made it his life work.

'Ah yes! he knew, the learned man, he knew, full well he knew, how hidden is truth, how deep she dwells, how far she screens herself from mortal sight, how few she receives, how laboriously they seek her, how few (they are almost none) may reach her, how partially and piecemeal they drag her forth. She hides, yet so as never wholly to be hidden. Careful seekers find her, that, carefully sought, she may again be found. None may draw her forth in her completeness, but by degrees. The fathers and forefathers have found her; something is left for the sons and descendants to find. So always: she is sought; something is still to seek; found, and there is something still to find.'

As St. Jerome had followed the Greeks, so Andrew will follow St. Jerome:

'It is not disrespectful, nor presumptuous, nor redundant, nor unnecessary, nor idle, for us lesser men to labour in the exposition of Scripture, because our elders have done so before us. So we follow the venerable Jerome in the same quest for truth as his, though with unequal step, rightly setting his explanation before ours, and leaving to the reader's judgement, whether, where we have put forth all our strength, we have not, by our labour, something progressed.'

This prologue is Andrew's *tour de force*, which he never surpasses. But his prologue to Ezechiel yields a good metaphor. If we compare it with Richard's, on the same prophet, we get some notion of the difference between them. Richard sees himself as a gleaner in the harvest field of the Fathers. Andrew sees himself as an explorer:

'With God as leader, who makes ways in the sea, paths in the stormy water, we take our way unfearing, through unknown, pathless places, no end in sight.'¹

Here, perhaps, Andrew may remind us of the early twelfth-century exegete, Rupert of Deutz, who had God alone for his master. Andrew is considerably more modest than Rupert, however; divine revelation merely supplements his studies; he takes some equipment into the wilderness. Hugh of St. Victor advised his pupils to 'learn everything', and where grammar and rhetoric are concerned, Andrew has tried to follow the advice. Quotations or allusions from Cicero, Seneca, Sallust, Vegetius, lines from Virgil, Ovid, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan come appropriately to his pen. The question whether he was drawing on the originals as distinct from *florilegia* would require a long study, which would have to include the resources of the Victorine library; but his apt quotations at least compare favourably with the obvious tags used by masters of the later twelfth century for the enlivenment of their lectures. He is interested in grammar and notes the incorrectness of the Vulgate, when judged by the rules of the classical grammarians.² His own style is deliberate, forceful, and varied, with a fondness for parenthesis which recalls that of Richard. He keeps the 'florid, elevated and figurative way' for his prologues and certain purple patches, writing his ordinary comments in simpler Latin. He generally follows the rules of Dictamen for rhythmical clausulae in the sentence endings of his more ambitious passages. Each sentence in his prologue to Genesis has one of the approved endings:³ *incutiatur*; *conferenda promittit*; *obsecuturis prescribit*; *diligenter proséquitur*; *pénitus prétermittit*; *manifeste insérut*; *insinuére curávit*. He is apt to forget them, however, in moments of excitement.

Natural science, on the other hand, has no interest for him. Neither has doctrinal theology; hence his quotations from the Fathers almost always derive from their commentaries on Scripture.

¹ The whole prologue is printed in the Appendix.

² MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 89^c on Parab. i. 22: '*Odibunt secundum novos translator posuit grammaticos cum secundum artem "oderint" posuisse debuisset.*' Mr. Hunt tells me that he has not found any support for *odibunt* in the 'new', i.e. medieval, grammarians.

³ See N. Denholm-Young, 'The Cursus in England', *Oxford Essays in Medieval History Presented to H. E. Salter* (Oxford, 1934), 70-2, for the rules of Dictamen.

His exegetical sources have been roughly classified by Andrew himself in his prologue to the Prophets. He has used 'commentaries and glossed books'; he has been instructed by 'Jews and certain others'. The Jewish sources will be discussed in the next chapter. Here it is enough to say that Andrew also claims to have been instructed on the literal sense of the Pentateuch by the Jews. The earliest manuscript of Andrew on the Heptateuch that we possess, probably from the abbey of Beaupré near Beauvais, written soon after the middle of the twelfth century, has the explicit:

'Liber sancte Marie de Prato extractus ex libris sancti Augustini sanctique Iheronimi, Iosephi, atque Origenis, aliorumque plurimorum, traditionibusque Hebreorum.'

He certainly makes constant use of Josephus, whom he quotes by name, and his pages are studded with expressions such as *asserit Hebreus*, *Hebreus meus dicit*, *tradunt Hebrei*, *apud Hebreos*, *Hebrei dicunt*, *si Iudeis de se credimus*. He learnt the explanation of Dan. ix. 24, *ab eruditissimis Hebreorum*. Some passages of his work on the Prophets definitely record a series of discussions, where questions are asked and answered, or not answered, by both sides. As well as repeating Jewish 'traditions', Andrew collates the Vulgate with the Hebrew text.

The 'commentaries and glossed books' mean patristic commentaries and the *Gloss*. Their scope varied on different books of the Bible; so it is better to take them in groups; Andrew had a wider range of authorities for the Octateuch than for the Prophets and 'Solomon'. The *Gloss* on the Octateuch accounts for his occasional quotations from Origen. He has used it for Augustine and Jerome; but he also knows St. Jerome's *Quaestiones in Genesim*, the ninth-century *Quaestiones in Regum et Paralipomenon* falsely ascribed to him, St. Augustine's *Quaestiones in Pentateuchum* and Raban Maur's commentary on Kings, in the originals. On the Tabernacle he transcribes from Bede, in the original too.

His principal stand-by is his master Hugh of St. Victor, as one would expect. Recent studies on the glosses, sentence books, and summas of the twelfth century are showing us how systematically the works of the masters were copied and developed by their pupils. Knowing that Andrew was supposed by tradition to be Hugh's pupil, one guessed that

Hugh's *Notulae* would lie behind Andrew on the Pentateuch. In fact, he has incorporated them, almost word for word, into his exposition of Genesis and Exodus. On Leviticus he acknowledges his debt explicitly. The *Notulae* here take the form of a little treatise on sacrifices, instead of notes on separate texts. So Andrew copies it out in full:

'We have set forth above the explanation of this book [Leviticus], as far as the gist is concerned, for the greater part without any alteration, according to others, who *like ourselves have been instructed on the literal sense of the Pentateuch by the Jews*. Now let us deal with the letter which they have left undiscussed.'¹

Then he adds his own exposition.

For Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Josue we have no authentic *Notulae*. The few paragraphs printed by the seventeenth-century editors do not appear in Andrew's work, which is another argument against them. He does use those on Judges and Kings, in the form in which we have them.

Naturally he has studied his master's great work, the *De Sacramentis*. He refers to it expressly, though not by name, in the section on the Creation. It seems to be responsible for the few vague theological ideas that come into his exegesis.²

The Prophets and Solomon gave less opportunity for borrowing. Andrew does not use Hugh's published works on the Prophets or Ecclesiastes; but we cannot rule out the possibility of oral teaching. When he says 'the Jews and certain others' he may well be referring to Hugh. In discussing a text of Jeremias he says: 'certain persons, applying themselves rather to the literal sense, as their habit is, think that the letter should be explained in this way . . .';³ he approves of their view. It might be taken from his master.

Otherwise Andrew had little but St. Jerome. No other Father, accessible to him, had expounded the literal sense of the Prophets; Andrew realized that he was taking up the work of scholarship where St. Jerome had left it. Hence he used St. Jerome on the Prophets as he had used Hugh on the Octateuch. His own exposition is supplementary; some-

¹ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 37^a: 'Et quoniam magna ex parte huius libri explanationem, quantum ad sententiarum summam spectat, secundum alios qui ab Hebreis sicut et nos litteralem sensum pentateuci edocti sunt nullis penitus mutatis supra posuimus, nunc littere quam illi indiscussam reliquerunt insistamus.'

² For his view of original sin see below, p. 119.

³ See below, p. 113.

times he contents himself with transcribing the commentary of St. Jerome. His Minor Prophets are practically an abridgement of St. Jerome's. On these books too, he used the meagre literal exposition contained in the *Gloss*.

Given his list of authorities, one must ask what value he ascribes to them; how far he respects them. The law and theology of the twelfth century were built up on the concordance and interpretation of authority. All the 'questioning' which went on around him in the Paris schools had authority as its basis. Obviously Andrew's own questioning had a special character. Old Testament history differed from theology in that a scholar could select and reject his sources at pleasure without involving himself in heresy. But the habit of respect for authority was very strong even here. Since there was no urgent need in matters of historical fact, as there was in matters of faith, to decide between the 'Yes and No', exegetes had evolved a system of 'Either, Or'. They would string together a list of alternative explanations connected by *vel* or *aliter*. In this way they satisfied curiosity and shifted the responsibility of choice to the reader. The reader would remember St. Augustine's teaching, that variant opinions about the literal sense of a text might be regarded as true, provided that they were not unedifying; and he would be in no hurry to decide either. If an exegete actually disagreed with a patristic interpretation, he expressed himself with great tact.

Not so Andrew. 'I wonder how Jerome can say . . .!' 'Blessed Augustine seems to hold, but. . . .' 'We follow the Jews and Josephus rather than Bede.' 'Men of great authority give this opinion . . . they are misled.' 'I do not remember to have found an adequate explanation of this passage.' Andrew has no false modesty. He prides himself on his critical faculty:

'The whole context must be carefully considered and expounded, lest we who rebut the errors of others, if it be done more carelessly, be ourselves rebutted.'¹

On the dream of Daniel (vii. 7-8) he has a long argument with an imaginary opponent. They differ about the meaning of the ten horns of the beast. Do the ten horns signify that ten kings shall divide the 'kingdom of the Romans' between

¹ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 61^b: 'Diligenter attendenda et exponenda [est] totius littere series ne et nos qui aliorum errores redarguimus si negligentius actum fuerit merito redarguamur.'

them? This is the opponent's view. Andrew, stirred perhaps by his memories of Rome, holds that the horns appeared to Daniel not altogether but successively; they represent ten successive kings of the Romans. He will not have it that Rome shall ever be divided. The opponent puts up a good fight and they abuse each other in the best traditions of humanistic scholarship:

The Opponent: 'Now think you to escape, but bowing down your wretched head a tenth (and largest) wave shall overwhelm you . . . [his argument follows]. Now if some chance has snatched you from your peril, if you are still not totally demolished, if you have an argument left, produce it.'

Andrew: 'I am snatched from no peril. I never incurred one. The dart which that strong right hand of yours thought to have hurled at me has neither pricked me nor pierced me. That you may know it, please listen patiently, while I clearly explain my views on this matter. . . . There! You have my opinion such as it is. If perhaps you should think it ridiculous, you who are ready to refute it, I beg you, show forbearance.'

But here his opponent gives in:

'Remember that the victory in this contest rests with the future. That glory or shame it will bring us cannot be known, until the future shall declare it. Please proceed. Allow us to abound in our own sense, unless the sequel, or some passage of canonical Scripture forbid.'

Andrew, flushed with victory, can be generous:

'I had taken arms for close contest which the prayers of your supplication have dashed from my hands. It is no victory to vanquish you by force, that you by your humility may vanquish us. So let us proceed, as you wish.'

The baffled opponent is St. Jerome, and St. Jerome relying on Catholic tradition:

'We say what all the ecclesiastical writers have handed down: at the end of the world, when the kingdom of the Romans is destroyed, ten kings shall divide the Roman world between them. . . .'

Andrew has thinly disguised him as *aliquis*, and presented him with arguments, the better to attack him. In spite of his veneration for St. Jerome, he feels that they are both scholars together; there is no harm in a friendly disagreement.

His master receives the same critical treatment as authority. Although as a rule Andrew copies down the *Notulae*, he does

not always accept them. Sometimes he will omit, or add an alternative explanation. In three places he rejects them openly, once with impatience:

‘Certain persons expound the text in this way, if anything so frivolous can be called exposition. . . . Then he [*sic*] makes another attempt which is just as futile.’¹

After this we expect Andrew to justify his detachment. One need only hear the beginning of his work on the Pentateuch to feel sure that he will. It is very rare in reading through medieval commentaries to come across a striking phrase, an *incipit* that carries one with it. One must know the patient compilers of the ninth century, who boast in their prologues that they add nothing to the Fathers, and the quietly competent, long-winded Paschasius, in order to appreciate the vivid fragment of John the Scot on the Fourth Gospel:

‘*Vox spiritalis aquilae pulsat aurem ecclesiae.*’

In the twelfth century prologues become stereotyped. The glossator begins with a text; then he shows its application to the work in hand, and at the same time his ingenuity in finding connexions between unrelated things. Here is a typical prologue, ascribed to the great Peter Lombard:

‘*He made also bars of settim wood: five to hold together the boards of one side of the tabernacle: and five other bars at the west side. . . . And the board works themselves he overlaid with gold . . . [Exod. xxxvi. 31-4].* The five bars which hold together the boards of one side of the tabernacle are the five books of the Law, which uphold the Church against every shock; she is rightly called *the tabernacle* while toiling and militant in her pilgrimage on earth. The *five other bars at the west side* are the five prophetic books: Isaias, Jeremias, Ezechiel, Daniel and the book of the Twelve Prophets. They join together the boards on the other side of the tabernacle; for they firmly establish the doctrine of the Church’s preachers, and overlay them with the gold of heavenly wisdom. . . .’²

The glossator goes on relentlessly through the *sockets of silver*, the *rings* and *plates of gold*. He needs this preliminary

¹ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 14^{a-b}; ‘Quidam hanc litteram sic exponunt, si tamen exponere est risu digna dicere. . . . Item aliter exponere temptans non minus desipit. . . .’ He is criticizing the explanation given by Hugh of Gen. xx. 16, in the *Notulae*. *P.L.* clxxv. 52.

² B. Smalley and G. Lacombe, ‘The Lombard’s Commentary on Isaias and Other Fragments’, *The New Scholasticism*, v (1931), 124, 137, 156.

caper to settle him down to the second part of his prologue, where he deals with the matter and purpose of his author. But Andrew gets off straight from the starting-post:

‘Difficile quod durum quod grave quod asperum est observatur, si nullum custodiendi premium proponatur, aut negligenti nullus pene timor incutiatur. Quod bene intelligens Moyses. . . .’

This *incipit* stands out from contemporary ones rather as John the Scot’s from his. The author of the Pentateuch and his purpose claim us instantly. There is no playing on the number five because the matter in itself supplies the unity.

Even more surprisingly, it is the author’s immediate purpose. Andrew concentrates on Moses and his Jewish audience. The story of the Creation is meant as a lesson to an ignorant people; the Trinity and the angels are passed over as liable to distract and mislead them into polytheism. Andrew could have taken his main idea from St. Augustine; and Bede is distrustful of the interpretation *in Filio* for *in principio*. The emphasis is new, however, and we go on to what seems to be a wholly original thought. The Hexaemeron was always treated as a form of prophecy. Andrew read in his *Gloss*:

‘Just as Paul learnt the Gospel by revelation, so Moses was taught by the Holy Spirit about the Creation.’

Tentatively, Andrew proposes to substitute research for revelation. He suspects that some earlier source lies behind the Mosaic account.

‘Harsh, heavy, hard commandments are difficult to keep, if no reward is promised the obedient and no fear of punishment held over the negligent, as Moses well understood. Before he gives the hard and heavy precepts of the Law, God’s harsh and scarcely tolerable judgments, to an untutored people, lax from the soft living and many pleasures of Egypt, he relates God’s blessings and manifold graces to them and their fathers; he promises that more good shall be granted them; he recalls the evils that God has brought, and foretells what he will bring on the disobedient. His purpose is to educate his hearers to a more careful observance of the Law he gives them, by counting the many great riches of heavenly favour. So carefully, in order, from the beginning, he tells of the blessings which God has bestowed on the whole human race, but more especially on this people and their fathers.

‘To one of these blessings he gives, as it were, pride of place:

that God has deigned to create these heavens, the earth, the other elements, and their adornment, for man, and for man's use and service. Since he means to stress what was done for man and for man's use, therefore, in describing the world's creation, he has altogether passed over the creation of the angels, their confirmation and fall. Nor, lest he occasion backsliding to an untutored people, prone to the worship of many gods which they had learnt in Egypt, has he made open mention of the Trinity. Yet he was careful to suggest the operation of Three Persons in all God's works: power in creating things from nothing, wisdom in disposing and guiding them, goodness in sustaining and cherishing.

'It is usual to ask how Moses, so long afterwards, could have known how the world began. No wonder if the grace of the Holy Spirit, which could reveal to him even the future, could also reveal the past; for nothing is so apt to our knowledge as what is past. Nevertheless, we may believe without absurdity that the holy fathers of old, Adam and his descendants, would commit the Creation carefully to memory, by frequent recital, or even in writing; for this especially causes us to praise God and love him. So it might come to the knowledge of Moses, who sought it by careful research.'

By concentrating on Moses and his purpose, Andrew cut the Gordian knot which had puzzled exegetes from St. Augustine onwards, the two accounts of Creation in Genesis i and ii. How reconcile the six days of Genesis i with the 'day' of Genesis ii. 4, and with the text of Ecclesiasticus: *He that liveth for ever created all things TOGETHER* [xviii. 1]? St. Augustine declared for the Creation *simul*, and worked out a complicated theory to explain it. According to him the 'six days' are allegorical and do not refer to a time sequence. Bede preferred to understand the six days literally. He says that the 'day' of Genesis ii refers in this, as in some other passages of Scripture, not to twenty-four hours but to the whole period of time mentioned in Genesis i. In Genesis ii the sacred author is going over his story again and filling in the gaps. Since Bede was immensely popular, exegetes could choose, if they had the courage, between his opinion and St. Augustine's. Arguments for and against the Creation *simul* are a normal part of the twelfth-century sentence-book.

Andrew found it fully discussed in the *De Sacramentis*, where his master had arrived at a typical compromise: God created all things at once and together in matter; he afterwards, during the six days, distinguished them in form. The

conflicting views of his predecessors are treated with a characteristic blend of tact and frankness. Hugh begins by summarizing the arguments of the Fathers for the Creation *simul* in matter and form. To work in stages of time would be unworthy of an omnipotent Creator and suggestive of human weakness. This view is supported by Ecclesiasticus; Genesis itself, whence we derive our first knowledge of the Creation, speaks of the six days so ambiguously as rather, in some places, to prove them one. So the Fathers say that the distinction into six days is mystical; in literal truth each creature came into being in the form it now has.

Hugh believes, on the contrary, that to work by stages in no way derogates from the Creator's omnipotence. Undoubtedly, God could have worked differently. But he made all things for the benefit of rational beings; so even the making was meant to set them an example. Man learns, from the six days, that his own moral perfection must come by stages. To be, and to be good, are separate in time, like the world's creation and adornment. If it be objected that nobody was there to profit from the lesson, Hugh replies that the angels, created on the first day, were there, and that man throughout the ages would have the written account before him.

Then he states and answers the philosophical objection to the Creation *simul* in matter only. Matter cannot exist apart from form; therefore we cannot speak of creation in formless matter, which was subsequently 'distinguished'. Hugh admits the first point; the world, he agrees, was never formless in the sense of wholly lacking form. But 'formless' in this context means rather: 'confused and lacking orderly disposition'. He adds that *simul* refers also to the creation of the angels: it means that the visible and invisible worlds were created together in the same instant.

Andrew had studied these chapters of the *De Sacramentis*. He disagrees with his master's conclusion. Not only that. The whole argument strikes him as profoundly irrelevant. Scrapping every *pro* and *contra* he seizes on one suggestion which Hugh had thrown out merely in parenthesis, and which in his opinion provides the whole clue: 'Genesis whence we derive our first knowledge' of the Creation. Genesis is our primary source. Does Genesis say that the world was created in six days? That is the problem. Why consider a later authority? Whether from forgetfulness, or deliberately, Andrew confuses the two 'sapiential books'

and ascribes the *simul* text to Wisdom instead of Ecclesiasticus. According to St. Jerome, Wisdom was written by Philo Judaeus, and Philo perhaps was easier to discredit as an authority for the Creation than the anonymous author of Ecclesiasticus. But even as a trick it would be significant; it would show a feeling for the relative value of sources.

In the same way his harmonizing of the two accounts of Creation in Genesis i and ii, which is expanded from Bede's, may strike us as naïve. But what matters is the approach. His contemporaries try to solve the problem subjectively by moral and philosophical arguments; Andrew solves it objectively from the text. Fastening on this, he treats it as a unity and tries to deduce the meaning of the author. One remembers his suggestion that Moses drew on earlier sources. . . . We are far away from the *De Sacramentis*; this is biblical science *in potentia*.

'*And every plant of the field before it sprang up in the earth.* According to the true Hebrew version this verse is separate from the one before, and begins a fresh section. He [Moses] has just recapitulated what he said above; now, from this verse onwards, he explains more amply and clearly what before he has run through briefly, in order to show what was done on which day. He dwells, with especial care, on the things which concern the common use of man, and which the untaught, less gifted mind can understand. Thus, in describing the work of the third day, he told us that God said: *Let the earth bring forth the green herb, and such as may seed, and the fruit tree*, and so on [Gen. i. 11], adding: *and it was so done*, without showing how it was done. So here, lest it should be conceived as done in the accustomed way, as it is now, he shows how it was done, saying: *Every plant of the field*, etc. This is the negative sense: No *plant of the field* had as yet sprung up *in the earth*; no *herb of the ground* as yet had grown, that is, in the way it did afterwards, but by divine operation, as he shows in the sequel. There are two ways, nowadays, in which plants spring up, and herbs grow, that is by nature and by human labour. He shows that in the beginning it happened in neither of these two ways. First, he eliminates the working of nature, saying: *For the Lord God had not rained upon the earth*; then human labour: *there was not a man to till the earth*.

'Read in this order: the plant of the field did not spring up, nor the herb give seed, that is, in the usual way; because as yet there was no rain and no human labour, the two things which are wont to make plants and herbs grow.

'Subtract something from the text, and you get a contrary: "take away the parts and you take away the whole". There are

some who, misled by the translation, read this verse: *Every plant of the field*, etc. up to: *for the Lord God had not rained*, as the end of the verse above, in which we get the recapitulation. Hence whatever they have unravelled in six days, they are compelled, in one instant, to unravel; and what they have gathered from many verses they must scatter, with the tail end of one little verse. They rely on the witness of that apocryphal tract, the Wisdom of Solomon, against the first book of Scripture, which says that God worked, and finished his work, in six days, and rested on the seventh. Hence they try to maintain that God made all things at once.

'This position involves them in many difficulties. That God created all things together, and yet did different things on the six days, may stand [they say] for this reason: he created all things "together" in formless matter; afterwards, in six successive days, he reduced each thing to its own form. Indeed, men of great authority give this opinion.

'Neglect of the right translation has unfortunately misled them, and the authority of the aforesaid tract. Granted that Philo, its author, thought so, nowhere do we find that Moses the author of our book [Genesis] thought like him. Moses afterwards recapitulates, not what another thinks, but what he thinks himself and has previously said. To *recapitulate* is to repeat shortly what you have said above, from the beginning. In a recapitulation something is often added, but not so as to destroy what goes before. It has been said above that God made all things on six different days. Therefore, to say in a recapitulation that he made all things together, this is not to add something to what is said above, but wholly to destroy it. Finally, if Moses is trying to express this in his recapitulation, why does he add the work of the third day only to that of the first? Why does he not add the work of all the other days, and say: "*these are the generations of the heaven and the earth, when they were created, in the day that the Lord God made the heaven and the earth and the light and the firmament and all the rest in order*"?'

Andrew shows this same historical sense in his approach to the Prophets. His prologues to Isaias and Daniel each contain a character study and life, which, as he says, are of great importance in commending their work to us. They are stylized portraits, like figures in a row of twelfth-century sculptures. Each is a little encomium of the prophet's virtues, drawn from Scripture and St. Jerome. But they have vitality. The few details at Andrew's disposal have been 'written up' with feeling.

'Seven things especially ennobles [Isaias] the author of this

work: his noble race, his polished eloquence, his dignified office, his relationship with a royal house, his worth of character, his firm, enduring constancy, lastly his admirable holiness of life.

‘That he was noble and of royal blood, is clearly proved, if Jewish tradition is true, by the marriage between his daughter and Manasses, the son of Ezechias king of Juda. His dignity of office lies in the fact of his being a prophet; and his father also was a prophet, as appears from his name at the beginning of the prophecy itself. How he was related to a royal house by affinity has been told above, where we showed that his daughter married a king. Plain proof of his worth and holiness is that he merited to see the Lord, as he writes himself; that his lips were cleansed by a live coal, brought from the altar by a seraph’s hand; and chiefly that God testifies to Isaias being his servant, of whom he says: *as my servant hath walked, naked and barefoot* [Isa. xx. 3].

‘His firm, enduring constancy, his intention to declare the truth, his courage in foretelling disaster to princes and peoples, kings and priests, lands and nations, towns, villages, cities and camps, these shine out clearly in the prophet’s death, and the torments worse than death that he underwent. For wicked Manasses, it is told, who filled Jerusalem with the blood of prophets from gate to gate, sundered him with a wooden saw, because he confidently foretold the evils to come upon Juda which he had learnt by divine revelation. He suffered unto death, according to the sage’s precept, for justice’ sake, and manfully strove against wickedness unto blood. He was willing rather to lose his life, with honour, by exquisite torture, a way of death unheard of, than shamefully forbearing cede to falsehood, lay down his God-given office, suppress the truth for fear of fleeting death.’

Daniel, on the contrary, managed to turn his gift to good account. Andrew celebrates the wisdom of a captive who could rise to greatness in the land of his captivity:

‘Ponder his prudence in all these matters, and in much else that we pass by for brevity’s sake. You will marvel; I say too little, will gape with wonder. These gifts and many others which distinguished him, the divine mercy ever going before, won him, in the land of his homeless captivity, riches, power, wealth, possessions, purple raiment, a golden chain, the friendship of kings, the highest honours, a rank of dignity, immortal glory, lastly honour and security.’

In the same spirit Andrew points out the significance of the opening words in Ecclesiastes. It is an aristocratic book:

'This also commends the whole work to us, that its author is called *the son of David* the wise and good. Sons of great men seem to inherit their fathers' wisdom, just as sons of the simple and lowly are wont to be foolish and, not to say stupid, at least simple and less gifted. Hence we read in the Gospel that our Saviour astonished, by his wisdom in question and answer, those who considered only his humble birth. They asked in wonder: Is not this the carpenter's son? Is not his mother called Mary, and his brothers James and Joseph and Simon and Jude? Are not his brothers and sisters here with us? *And they were scandalised in regard of him* [Mk. vi. 3]; as though it were against reason and somehow unnatural, that such wisdom and prudence should be found in one of such simple, uneducated parents, whose "brothers and sisters", that is whose relatives, were simple and foolish as the people are. So to commend his work, as we have said, the author is careful to add that he is David's son, having wisdom and prudence as his inheritance. It often happens that a wise man has wise and prudent sons; their studies aid nature; nature their studies.'

We can hardly expect that the special characteristics of each author, as described in the prologue, should be developed in the exposition itself. This would be asking too much of Andrew. He has voluntarily restricted himself to writing notes rather than a full commentary. He fails to carry out the theme of his opening to Genesis: the education of a primitive people. He does not penetrate the mood of Ecclesiastes, while on the Prophets, in spite of his wish to follow St. Jerome, he has neither the learning nor the genius of his great predecessor; he cannot explain how they differ from one another; he comes no closer to the personalities behind his text.

What distinguishes him from contemporaries is his awareness that some personality is there. He does not lose sight of the prophet in the prophecy. The promise: *there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse* [Isa. xi. 1] which sent other commentators instantly to the Gospel, makes Andrew think first of the prophet's reassurance to Juda and Israel. Isaias is consoling the Two Tribes and the Ten alike:

'He has cheered with good hope the fallen spirits of the Two Tribes, and roused them from the heavy slumber of despair, promising escape from the danger, and defeat of the enemy that threaten them. Now, in this passage, he brings no little comfort to the Ten, of whose restoration as yet he has said nothing. He promises the Ten as well as the Two, that as rod

and flower come forth from the root, so from the stem of Jesse a son shall come forth, who, filled with the sevenfold spirit, shall judge and reprove his servants in justice and equity. . . .

'Let us consider the letter: *And there shall come forth a rod.* The Lord shall do as is said above to free the Two Tribes from danger and care. To restore to their land, to reconcile and reduce to one people both Ten and Two, *there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse and the spirit of the Lord shall rest upon him.*'

What is more remarkable, in explaining the vision, he remembers the seer. When Richard expounds the vision of Ezechiel, his one anxiety is to know what it looked like. He wants to make an accurate description of the four creatures, something that he can draw, as he drew the temple. Stephen Langton and Hugh of St. Cher talk at length about pictures of cherubim that they have seen, and compare them with the vision. Andrew wants principally to know what the appearance signified to Ezechiel: what was it intended to teach the people for whom he wrote it down? Andrew supposes that *the likeness of a man* in the 'living creatures' was meant to draw people's attention and show the relevance of the vision to their affairs:

'The prophet had called the creatures of the vision "beasts"; so they might be conceived merely as wild animals and hence as having little concern for man; then the men for whom this vision was written would heed it little, since it would have nothing in it that related to them. Therefore the prophet has added that: *this was their appearance. There was the likeness of a man in them* [Ezech. i. 5].'¹

It would take too long to illustrate Andrew's interest in the chronology and geography of the Old Testament. He is a scholar with a scholar's joy in detail and a scholar's impatience with popular misconceptions. He persists in calling Ezechiel 'Tezechiel',² and it distresses him that the canticle of Sidrach, Misach, and Abdenago should be known as the 'Hymn of the Three Children'. He calculates that the 'children' were close on forty years old when they were cast into the furnace; perhaps this erroneous idea has arisen

¹ MS. Bodl. c Mus. 62, fo. 113^a: 'Quia bestias nominaverat, ne bruta et inmitia tantum putarentur animantia et ita ad homines minus pertinere, minusque homines quibus hec visio scribebatur attenderent, cum nichil in ea contineretur quod ad eos spectaret, annectit quod talis erat aspectus eorum.'

² Ibid., fo. 111^c: 'Quod iccirco dicimus quia quidam tam in scriptura quam in pronuntiatione huius nominis errant.'

from the text: *not a hair of their head had been singed* [Dan. iii. 94] which does not mention their having beards; Andrew recalls the text Dan. i. 3 which (as against the *Gloss*) he construes to mean that they were eunuchs, and therefore beardless.¹

Perhaps the most characteristic trait of his exposition is his handling of the *quaestio*. Although he refuses to be led into irrelevant discussions, he cannot pass over a glaring contradiction on the literal meaning. We have watched him solving the *simul* problem by the simple process of deciding for the earlier authority. Some difficulties presented no such loophole. In two passages Andrew takes up the challenge and embarks on a real question. In each case the method is comparative; he 'distinguishes' by examining the context and the precise meaning it gives to a doubtful expression. And in each case the solution shows that naturalistic streak in Andrew that we have noticed before.

The first difficulty arises from St. Jerome on Jerem. i. 5: *Before I formed thee in the bowels of thy mother, I knew thee: and before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee and made thee a prophet unto the nations*. St. Jerome is refuting a gnostic heresy, that Jeremias was a spirit who existed before his bodily conception. He says that the first half of the text refers to the foreknowledge of God: the second must be

'understood according to the Apostle: *When it pleased him who separated me from my mother's womb and called me by his grace to reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Gentiles* [Gal. i. 15-16]. John the Baptist, also, was sanctified in the womb, received the Holy Spirit and prophesied through his mother's mouth.'

To a twelfth-century theologian the text suggested quite another problem: Were Jeremias and St. John the Baptist cleansed from original sin?

Andrew limits himself to the case of Jeremias. He begins by disposing of St. Jerome, whose comment he feels to be

¹ MS. Pembroke 45, fo. 118^a: 'Quidam nostrorum istos qui in fornacem missi fuerunt pueros et ymnum quidem eorum ymnum trium puerorum appellant. Canonica autem hec scriptura, postquam de sompno regis agere cepit, ubique viros et nusquam pueros illos vocat. Sive cum Ioachim filio Iosie sive cum Ieonia filio eius capti ductique sunt in Babilonia, quomodo post secundum vel in ipso secundo Egyptie captivitatis anno pueri erant? . . . ' Fo. 118^d: 'Hinc forsitan originem illa traxit opinio quia de barbe pilis nichil dictum est cum de capillis premissum sit, quod si viri fuissent scriptura nequaquam tacuisset. Hoc opinantes parum videntur attendere quod illi in domum principis eunochorum introducti spadones fuerunt et quod illi qui in pueritia castratur barba crescere non potest.'

rather a red herring. If, as St. Jerome says, *before I formed thee in the bowels of thy mother I knew thee* means simply that God foreknew the prophet's existence, what is the point? God foreknows the existence of all men, good and bad alike. Why is it said specially to Jeremias? And what bearing has the case of St. Paul on the 'sanctification from the womb'? The Apostle speaks of his separation, not his sanctification; and on this latter word 'the whole question turns'; unless we were to read 'separated' as 'sanctified'—a violent distortion as all must agree.

'I never remember to have read that the Apostle was "sanctified" from the womb. He testifies of himself; *we also . . . were by nature children of wrath, even as the rest* [Eph. ii. 18].'

The case of the Baptist is altogether different:

'We believe that he was sanctified from the womb, as the archangel promised, for that full of the Holy Spirit, he leapt for joy in his mother's womb, at the coming of the parent of his Lord, and prophesied through his mother's mouth. But we read nothing of the sort concerning holy Jeremias, either before or at his birth.'

Having stated the problem, Andrew gives a current solution, which he then proceeds to criticize:

'Some admit that both St. John the Baptist and Jeremias were cleansed of original sin, from the womb, or within it. They say that what the sacraments of baptism or circumcision gave to others, these two received by divine grace while still in the womb. According to this opinion the text is clear: *Before thou camest forth out of the womb, I knew thee, I sanctified thee*, that is: "I cleansed thee from the stain of original sin". But then the knot of our first question still remains to be untied. How did God "know" the prophet before forming him *in the bowels of his mother*, unless it be said that before forming him *in the bowels* of the Synagogue in the manner of others, i.e. by circumcision, God *knew* him as her son by the aforesaid sanctification?'

This solution supposes an allegorical interpretation; *in the bowels of thy mother* must be read as: *in the Synagogue*. Andrew prefers to read it literally:

'Some according to their custom apply themselves rather to the literal sense and they think that the text should be explained in this way: while the prophet was still a child, God instituted him prophet, to prophesy to savage nations and be given unto the people. Hence God affords him faith and surety. The blessings already mercifully granted are a pledge for all future

time; as though he said: "Fear not, Jeremias, that I should ever fail you now. Even before your birth I favoured you, blessing you with sanctity, deigning to recognise what was yet to come." Jeremias relies on God's promise. When, as we read in the sequel, he is given as prophet unto the nations, he excuses himself for his lack of eloquence solely on the ground of being a child.'

This solution is justified by a distinction: to *know* has several meanings:

'God is said to know things in two ways; either he has it in his knowledge, or he approves, loves, holds it dear. According to the first meaning it is said: *he knoweth both the deceiver and the deceived* [Job xii. 16]. According to the second meaning God says to Moses: *I know thee by name* [Exod. xxxiii. 12] and to the foolish virgins: *I know you not* [Matt. xxv. 12] that is, I do not approve, nor love, nor hold you dear. We too, when angry with people that we despise, or do not approve of, are wont to say: "Whence, or who are you?"

'The text reads thus: *Before I formed thee in the bowels of thy mother I knew thee*: I, the Lord, who formed you, before I gave you human shape in the womb, *knew*, that is approved, and loved you as one known and dear, and already existing, for me, to whom the future is as the past; and this before your birth or your conception. Similarly the Apostle: *for when they were not yet born, nor had done any good or evil . . . Jacob I have loved: but Esau I have hated* [Rom. ix. 11, 13].

'*And before thou camest forth out of the womb, I sanctified thee*: in token of my love and approval, even when you were still in your mother's womb, I granted you such sanctity, that nothing but the holy and pure could please you after your passing to birth. Through the sanctity vouchsafed him, Jeremias is believed to have kept a perpetual virginity. *And made thee a prophet unto the nations*. Freely, without your deserving it, I inspired you with the grace of prophecy, and sent you to prophesy to the nations of my choice.'

Andrew has declared for the literal sense; he has interpreted 'sanctification' as 'preparation and pledge'. He refuses to allow that a miraculous element comes into it.

The second difficulty arises from a contradiction in the *Gloss* on Ezech. i. 1: *The heavens were opened and I saw the visions of God*. The marginal gloss reads: 'Not by the division of the firmament, but by the faith of the believer, to whom celestial secrets are revealed', the interlinear gloss: 'According to Origen [he saw] with his fleshly sight.'

Hence Andrew has to consider the nature of Ezechiel's

vision: in what sense were 'the heavens opened'? We can guess that he will prefer the marginal gloss as more rational. He begins, however, by stating the problem in a provocative way:

'It follows that a man to whom the heavens are opened should see *the visions of God* which are above the heavens. Although all things are visible to divine majesty, and nothing is hidden from all-seeing God, he is said to see especially what is above the heavens, just as he is said to *be* especially in heaven, although in fact he is everywhere. So the prophet says that *the heavens were opened* and he *saw the visions of God*, because he saw what are beyond the heavens, the angelic beings, in whose own form and nature it is God's not man's to see.'

In what manner did the prophet see them? Andrew quotes from St. Augustine to prove that visions are not physical but spiritual, that is, intellectual, seen in the mind's eye. He adapts the quotations to the vision in question. Ezechiel says that *the heavens were opened* meaning that heaven had condescended to him. By heavenly favour celestial forms had been impressed on his mind. The concreteness of his phrase is a concession to our feeble understanding.

'The sacred writers often describe what is above, in terms of what is within, man's ken. We cannot see past a solid body unless it is first dissolved or removed; so the prophet is careful to tell us that *the heavens were opened*. Isaias also well knew that God could come to earth and leave the heavens unbroken, yet he condescends to human reason and custom, when longing for God's advent he says: *O that thou wouldst rend the heavens and wouldst come down* [Isa. lxiv. 1]. Moses writes that God said: "The cry of Sodom is come to me; *I will go down and see it*". [Gen. xviii. 21] . . . Many expressions of this kind are conceded to us by Scripture.'

Another rational explanation is that *visions* refer not only to the vision described in the first chapter but to the prophecy contained in the whole book. This would agree, he says, with the Hebrew text which reads: *I have seen a vision from God*:

'The sense is: the fact of my having *seen a vision*, and understood what will come upon you, upon the rest [of the people], and upon the City, is not from me but *from God*. In these words the prophet both shows his humility, and plainly teaches his readers that they must assent to what he will say as divinely inspired. According to this opinion what else does the

"opening of the heavens" mean, but that a heavenly gift is vouchsafed him?

'If anyone would like to argue that *the heavens were opened* for the prophet's gaze to pass through them, that he might see God and the things above, we in no way hinder him; let him abound in his own sense. But let him ask whether reason or the nature of things allow what he wishes to argue. If he resort to the argument that divine omnipotence can do what nature cannot, enable a man to direct his gaze through the heavens and beyond them, we know that with God nothing is impossible and in no wise gainsay it. But he should realise this: in expounding Scripture, when the event described admits of no natural explanation, then and then only should we have recourse to miracles.'¹

If only we had some record of Abailard's lecture on Ezechiel, given at Laon in defiance of his master! All we know about it is what Abailard himself tells us: like all his doings it created a great stir. It would be interesting to compare him with Andrew on the most obscure of the Prophets. One suspects that Andrew would prove to be the more original here, as he certainly is on the Hexaemeron.

If we call Abailard a 'rationalist' we must give the word its twelfth-century connotation: we mean simply that he desired to use his reason for the defence and understanding of his faith; and by 'reason' his mastery of logic is meant. We cannot call Andrew a rationalist in this sense. He is not sufficiently interested in either logic or theology to apply one to the other. For instance, the problem of the beatific vision—whether man can attain to direct vision of the divine essence, had been table talk in the ninth century;² interest was reviving in the twelfth,³ and the starting-point, St. Augustine's *De Videndo Deo*, lay ready to hand. It would have been very relevant indeed to Andrew's discussion of Ezechiel's vision; but he ignores it. 'Rationalist' as a description of Andrew takes on a different and almost eighteenth-century flavour. It applies less to his method than to his conclusions. It expresses a cult of 'common sense' and a definite preference for natural to supernatural explanations.

¹ Andrew could have found this general principle in St. Augustine, see P. de Vooght, 'La notion philosophique du miracle chez St Augustin. Dans le "De Trinitate" et le "De Genesi ad litteram"', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* x (1938), 317-43. But his bald and provocative statement is surprising, given his place and date.

² M. Cappeluyens, 'Note sur le problème de la vision béatifique au ix^e siècle', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* i (1928), 100.

³ See *De Sacramentis*, II, xiii, c. 18; *P.L.* clxxvi. 616.

This 'naturalism' was much rarer in the twelfth century than was the rationalism of Abailard.

We know that Abailard owed part of his reputation to his genius as a teacher. He evidently excited his pupils as much by the way he said things as by what he said. Andrew portrays himself as a lonely and rather morose scholar. He works for his own satisfaction; he has no wish to set up as a master of others. All the same, we know that Andrew too had devoted disciples, and one wonders whether in practice he shared Abailard's gift for teaching. His writings suggest that he did. We have seen how he stimulates and provokes by his readiness to argue. He also has the good teacher's desire to clarify. He can explain as well as discover. He has an aptitude for finding parallels which bring the familiar to the rescue of the unfamiliar. He watches for social and legal customs in modern times or antiquity which bear on those of the Old Testament. He observes for instance that *thou . . . advancest and comest to woman's ornament* [Ezech. xvi. 7] refers to young ladies' 'coming out':

'It was a custom of antiquity, indeed still is, among certain races, that before they were marriageable the girls even of noble families should go plainly dressed, but that when they "advanced" they should receive "woman's ornament", so as to please their future husbands.'¹

He explains the phrase *priests . . . whose hands were filled and consecrated* [Num. iii. 3] as a reference to investiture and seisin:

'It was a custom of antiquity that when a man entered upon an office, the enjoined office was conferred on him as a gift, by a piece of wood or a stone or something of that kind. It was what is popularly called the seisin or investiture of the office enjoined on him.'²

The problem of lay investiture, involving the right of a secular ruler to invest bishops with the ring and staff, would make the allusion very topical for Andrew's readers.

A text of Isaias, *Lord, I suffer violence, answer thou for me*

¹ MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 14432, fo. 51: 'Mos erat antiquitus, sed adhuc quibusdam gentibus est, ut ante nobiles annos puellae etiam nobiles incultius incederent, illis vero adventantibus mundum muliebrem quo melius futuris placerent maritis acciperent.'

² MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 39^d: 'Mos erat antiquitus, cum in aliquod ministerium aliquis assumebatur, iniunctum ministerium per lignum vel lapidem vel aliquid huiusmodi in manus illi tradebatur, et erat ut vulgariter loquitur saisina quedam et investitura iniuncti officii.'

[xxxviii. 14] suggests to him the 'guaranty clause', which in the mid-twelfth century was becoming part of the formula in a deed of gift.¹ Andrew is commenting on his Hebrew version: *Lord, vindicate me*. He first explains the claim to prior possession, which brings the guaranty clause into operation; secondly, the guaranty clause itself; lastly he shows how they illustrate his text:

'Lord, vindicate me, protect me. These Hebrew terms will be understood more clearly when their meaning is given in the tongue of the Franks: "Lord, reclaim me, warrant me". When our belongings have been stolen or lost in any way, and we find others in possession, we "vindicate" them for ourselves, and so to speak "reclaim" them. But if those from whom we reclaim our belongings have bought them, or acquired them in any way from others, the latter must stand for the former, and "warrant" [make good the loss of] what they have sold or granted.

*'Lord, "vindicate" now for thyself and "reclaim" me thy servant, from sickness and death which have almost taken me to themselves. Guard and protect me as thine own possession.'*²

Andrew is doing much what Aelfric had done in the vernacular homilies, and Christian of Stavelot in his commentary on St. Matthew; he is explaining Scripture in terms of everyday life. But Aelfric had written for the parish priest and the laity, Christian for the 'simple-minded' brothers of his monastery. Andrew is writing for intellectuals; this is the novelty. Reversing the usual process, he adapts the methods of elementary education to the scholar. He substitutes straightforward comparisons for the subtle and ingenious ones which were considered proper for a clerkly audience. Not that topical and classical allusions in learned works had been infrequent; but they had been used mainly for polemics, or for ornament, or for light relief; sometimes they had been thrown out casually in passing. Andrew uses

¹ F. M. Stenton, *Transcripts of Charters Relating to Gilbertine Houses* (Publications of Lincoln Record Soc. 18, 1922), xxviii-xxix.

² MS. Pembroke 45, fo. 62^b: "Domine vindica me;" protege me. Hebraicarum dictionum que hoc in loco ponuntur apertioris intelligentie causa secundum vulgatam acceptionem in lingua Francorum significatio est ponenda: "Domine calumpniare me, garantiza me". Res nostras furto ablatas, vel quomodocumque perditas, cum ab aliis eas possideri invenimus, nobis eas vindicamus et ut ita loquitur calumpniamur. Si vero illi quibus nos res nostras calumpniamur ab aliis illas emerint, vel quolibet modo acceperint, debent illi pro illis stare et que vendiderunt, vel aliquo modo contulerunt, garantizare. Domine iam me servum tuum quem morbus et mors iam sibi pene rapuit tibi vindica et calumpniare et quasi tuum protege et tuere.'

them with a difference. He intends that, instead of diverting or distracting the reader, they shall fix his attention more closely on the text. They shall really help him to grasp its meaning.

The exposition of Isa. i. 16-18 is the happiest example of his method that one could choose and will make a good conclusion. He explains the text with the aid of both pagan custom and Jewish law and tradition:

Wash yourselves: be clean. Take away the evil of your devices from my eyes. Cease to do perversely.

Andrew contrasts this moral cleansing with the ritual purification prescribed by the Law, and with the pagan rites, of which he read in Ovid:

‘Our sires believed that every sin and every cause of ill could be wiped out by rites of purgation. . . . Fond fools alack! to fancy murder’s gruesome stain by river water could be washed away.’ [*F.* ii. 35, 6; 45, 6.]

‘*Take away the evil of your devices.* The prophet has commanded them to “wash themselves”. Someone might mistake this cleansing for washing in water, and the various purifications by water [*baptismatibus*] which were used among both Jews and Gentiles, as Peleus says to Acastus:

“O rid me of my sin,” and the other did rid him of his sin. [*F.* 43-4.]¹

‘So to specify the manner of washing, he adds: *Take away the evil.* They must *take away the evil* from their thoughts, because even thoughts cannot be hidden from the eyes of God’s majesty. *Cease to do perversely.* It is fittingly ordered that when evil thoughts are “taken away”, they should “cease from perversity” in deed. Thoughts come first; deeds follow. . . .

‘*If your sins be as scarlet:* the sense is: however loathsome in your foulness and sin you may have been, you shall be cleansed wholly. Above he said *wash yourselves*, which refers to stains and dirt; so now he expresses the filth of sin by scarlet and crimson, purity by snow and wool. Nothing looks filthier on vessel or vesture than the red stain of blood; it shows up more than any other; and we know when a thing is cleansed by its turning white.

‘The soul as God creates her is innocent and clean. She is like a spotless white garment. But dwelling in a corruptible body, tempted by her invisible foe, the Devil, and her visible [man], her own will perverted, she is smirched by the filth of sin as though dyed in stains. When grievous sins deform the soul,

¹ J. G. Frazer, *The Fasti of Ovid*, i (London, 1929), 55. Andrew has telescoped the passage; he runs together the references to Peleus and Alcmaeon.

red blood-stains discolour the whiteness of her garment to scarlet and crimson. The Law plainly teaches how hard it is to wash away such blood-stains from the soul's garment; it commands that the stained part of a garment be torn off and burnt [Lev. xiii. 56]; again: *every . . . garment mingled with blood shall be burnt* [Isa. ix. 5]. Yet they who do what the prophet has said will be wholly cleansed from these stains. He has chosen to compare the redness of blood to *scarlet* and *crimson* because they express redness with such intensity.

‘Another explanation: according to a Jewish tradition, the sins of all men are preserved in writing on a shining white substance, that they may appear more readily to the Judge’s eye. Hence, *the books were opened* and read before the Ancient of Days, seated on his throne [Dan. vii. 9–10]; and the sin of Juda, so we read, is written on iron with an adamantine nail. Grievous sins are written in colours which adhere more faithfully to the parchment than others and strike the reader’s eye more readily. So in these words the Lord promises to erase their sins, even though they were great enough to be written in vermilion or crimson. Nothing shall be left, where their sins were written, but the shining white substance that had their imprint. And so their sins, which before were red as crimson, shall be white as snow.

‘Wool, thread, cloth, and soft stuffs of this kind, are dyed *scarlet*. Parchment, wood, stone, and hard ware generally, is painted *crimson*.’

Later he adds:

‘When sins are said to be written in books, what else does it mean but that God remembers as though they were written?’

The Jewish tradition, which Andrew cites in explanation of his text, has brought us to his chief importance as a commentator. Had Andrew relied simply on his own mother wit and his knowledge of antiquity, he would be an arresting, but not a very significant, figure. For his purpose, these were not enough. The ‘literal exposition’ as he conceived it was a real science. A scientific work is bound to date quickly. It ceases to be valuable in itself; it is remembered for having opened up fresh lines of inquiry and fresh sources which later scholars have followed up. Probably the more successful it is, the sooner it will be old fashioned. So the literal exposition to which Andrew devotes himself demands research work and would be pointless without it. He would be like a person rattling energetically at a locked door.

In fact, he had a key provided for him by his masters, St. Jerome and Hugh of St. Victor; and he had the courage to turn it. He went into the vast uncatalogued store-room of Hebrew learning, whose contents had been barely fingered, gingerly and at rare intervals, for the past seven hundred years.

The metaphor gives a poor idea of his adventure. His archives were living scholars. The learning that he asked from them was no dead tradition but something growing. A movement was in process in the Jewish schools as in the Christian. The Jews were developing new ideas and a new technique for the study of their sacred books; they combined conservatism and originality in much the same way as the Christians. Andrew had to take his Hebrew lore as it was presented to him by contemporary French rabbis. He could hardly collect his material without making some kind of intellectual contact.

III. THE JEWISH SOURCES¹

The Jews of northern France in the twelfth century lived on generally friendly terms with their Christian neighbours. They were neither shut into ghettos nor restricted to shop-keeping and money-lending, but scattered among the towns and villages in small communities, engaging sometimes in such 'country' pursuits as vine-growing and horse-coping. The works of the north French rabbis show us a typically French, prosperous, middle-class people, who keep a rich table, set prudent limits to their families, in spite of the fertility rites of their weddings, lead respectable lives and practise their religion, are not intolerant and seldom saintly.²

The school of exegetes deriving from Rashi seems to reflect both the typically French qualities of common sense and clarity and the prosperity and freedom from persecution of the north French Jews, which made it possible for them to criticize their own institutions and traditions in a scientific way.

Before the time of Rashi (1040-1105), two systems of

¹ The material for this section was given to me by Dr. L. Rabinowitz. Lack of space prevents me from doing more than summarize his description of Jewish biblical exegesis, and from giving his bibliography. We have prepared a joint article on the Jewish sources of the Victorines, supporting our conclusions by parallel passages, which we hope to publish in an English periodical.

² The most recent study is by L. Rabinowitz, *The Social Life of the Jews of Northern France in the XII-XIV Centuries as Reflected in the Rabbinical Literature of the Period* (London, 1938).

biblical exegesis had been used in the Jewish schools: the *halachic* and the *aggadic*. *Halachic* exegesis consisted in the authoritative exposition of the Old Testament in order to deduce the rule (*halacha*) of life. With the close of the Talmud, about A.D. 500, all creative activity in this branch of exegesis came to an end. No one had authority to deduce a new *halacha* or to question the correctness of the rules obtained by the principles of halachic interpretation. The *aggadic*, midrashic, or homiletic method allowed more play to the imagination, since it regarded the biblical text rather as a peg upon which to hang moral doctrine and edifying tales. Daring imagery, allegory, moral stories, crude history, ingenious speculation, here and there a stray piece of literal interpretation, are all to be found in the Midrash; and since Midrash was not authoritative theology or doctrine, there was a continuous midrashic exposition up to the period of Rashi.

Rashi added a third method of exposition: the literal or rational. Stimulated by two important works, a grammar and a dictionary, by Spanish Jews, which were written in Hebrew and therefore accessible to him, he applied himself to the literal exposition of the whole Old Testament. Much of his commentary is strictly scientific and rational and in accordance with the spirit of the Hebrew language to which he was finely sensitive. He pays due attention to grammar and syntax, and shows an attractive, if rudimentary, appreciation of the principles of comparative philology. Biblical chronology and geography have an absorbing interest for him. Not that Rashi breaks with tradition. His literal exposition may be in conflict with the *halachic*, but never excludes it. He also makes use of the *aggadic* method; his originality lies only in his preference for the literal as an alternative; he compares literal exposition and *aggada* to the two sparks of interpretation, which fly in different directions, and each is as important as the other.

The school of Rashi was more revolutionary. Joseph Kara (*d.* 1130-40) shows a definite antagonism to midrashic exegesis.

‘. . . whosoever is ignorant of the literal meaning of Scripture and inclines after the Midrash of the verse is like a drowning man who clutches at a straw to save himself. Were he to set his mind to the word of the Lord, he would search out the true meaning of the verse and its literal purpose. . . .

'I know that all the masters of *Aggada* and Talmud who do not budge from the interpretations of our rabbis will mock at me; but the enlightened will consider the path of Scripture in order to establish the truth of the matter.'

In spite of this confession of faith, Joseph Kara's commentary abounds in midrashic interpretations. The credit for having introduced a purely literal interpretation belongs to three contemporaries: Samuel ben Meir or Rashbam, the eldest, a grandson of Rashi, and two of Rashbam's colleague-disciples, Eliezer of Beaugency and Joseph Bekhor Shor of Orleans. Their dates are uncertain; Joseph, the youngest, was living about 1160. Rashbam reverses the method of Joseph Kara; he is reverent to authority in theory, independent in practice. In a well-known passage he reports a conversation with Rashi:

'And also Rabbi Solomon, my maternal grandfather, the enlightener of the eyes of the Exile, who commented on the Pentateuch, Prophets, and Hagiographa, set himself to expound the literal meaning of Scripture. And even I, Samuel son of Meir his son-in-law argued with him and before him, and he confessed to me that had he had the opportunity, he would have found it necessary to write other commentaries, more in accordance with the literal expositions, of which new examples come up every day.'

The last words reflect a feverish activity in literal exegesis, of which the works of these three scholars are the most important extant examples. With few exceptions they discard the two older methods of exegesis and aim at a purely rational exposition, even when it is in direct opposition to the *Halacha*. For this reason, the movement came to an end in the later twelfth century, in favour of strict orthodoxy.

Their most interesting characteristics are, first of all, a fondness for explaining Scripture by reference to the customs of the country in which they lived. Rashbam even explains the meal which Jacob gave to Esau on the sale of his birthright, not as the price of the birthright, but as the *beveria* with which it was the custom in northern France to seal and celebrate a bargain. Joseph Bekhor Shor mentions this explanation of his master and calls it 'non-sense'. This illustrates the second characteristic of the school: their freedom and frankness in criticizing and

disagreeing with their predecessors and contemporaries. Rashbam calls an explanation of Rashi 'vanity', though like the Christians they coat the pill by referring to their opponents anonymously. Another distinguishing trait is their use of the vernacular in explanation of words and sentences. Rashi confined himself to single words, but Joseph Bekhor Shor will sometimes render whole sentences into French.

Most important, perhaps, from our present point of view, is their rationalism, or naturalism. Whenever possible they will reduce biblical miracles to normal natural phenomena and they show critical insight which anticipates the scholarship of a later time. Joseph Bekhor Shor suggests the possibility of a double narrative in Genesis. His use of the words 'the writer of the book' in Genesis makes one wonder whether he is also suggesting a non-Mosaic authorship for the pre-Mosaic narrative. The author of a commentary on Ecclesiastes belonging to this school states categorically that the first two verses of Ecclesiastes are the addition of a later editor.

Joseph Bekhor Shor in particular consciously strains after originality in exposition; he loves 'debunking'. The following examples will show how he sets out to explain or, when this is impossible, to minimize biblical miracles:¹

Gen. xix. 26, the changing of Lot's wife into a pillar of salt; 'She tarried and was overtaken by the flow of lava; but the general opinion is that she was changed into salt.'

Exod. vii. 20: '*The Lord met him and sought to kill him*; he was taken seriously ill; *so he let him go*; he recovered from his illness.'

Exod. vii. 20: '*And all the waters that were in the river were turned into blood*; only for a moment, during which the fish died; then it immediately reverted to water.'

Exod. ix. 8, the plague of boils: Joseph explains that in its essence the miracle was a natural thing, since hot ashes falling upon the skin produce blisters; the only supernatural element in it was that it affected everybody. 'God does not alter the laws of nature and therefore effected the miracle partly according to natural laws. For this reason he commanded Moses to cast the ashes. And so you will find with the majority of miracles that God does not alter natural laws.'

¹ Joseph's commentaries on Genesis and Exodus have been edited by A. Jellinck (Leipzig, 1856).

Exod. xv. 25: the sweetening of the waters was accomplished in a natural manner, as one sweetens a bitter food by putting spices into it.

Exod. xx. 12: *'in order that your days may be long; if you honour your parents your children will honour you, support you in your old age so that you will not die prematurely.'*

Exod. xxiii. 19: *Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk.* The *halachic* interpretation of this verse was: thou shalt not boil any meat with any milk; the threefold repetition of the verse in the Pentateuch instituted a threefold prohibition, one against boiling (without subsequent eating), one against eating, one against deriving any benefit of any kind from the forbidden article. Thus a binding law made a rigid separation between dishes which had meat as one of the ingredients, and dishes which had milk. Joseph, however, renders the Hebrew word for *seethe* as *cause to grow* or *ripen*, as in Gen. xl. 10, and so renders the whole verse as follows: 'The first of the firstfruits of thy land thou shalt bring into the house of the Lord: thou shalt not let the kid grow in its mother's milk, but after seven days offer it to God' in accordance with Lev. xxii. 27. This rendering cuts the ground from under the authority for the dietary laws prescribing the separation of meat and milk.

Joseph even denies the least supernatural element to the dreams of Pharaoh and his butler and baker, and of Joseph the patriarch. He says that Joseph dreamt of future greatness because such thoughts were in his mind during the day; he needed no divine insight for their interpretation. Any clever man could have interpreted them aright; Pharaoh himself ought to have understood them. On the giving of the Law he says that we are told how the writing penetrated through the tablets of stone only to explain the ease with which they were afterwards broken when Moses let them fall; in other words, the verse Exod. xxxii. 15 means just that the tablets were fragile.

All this goes with a firm belief in demons, witchcraft, and the evil eye. But it shows us a fresh and little-known side of twelfth-century culture.

This, then, was the background of the anonymous *Hebraei* whom Andrew consulted. We should gather from his own words that the consultation was oral; he says: *dicunt; tradunt; asserit.* He was interested, too, in modern Jewish practices, which he both compares and contrasts with those of the Old Testament. He comments on 1 Kings ix. 13: . . . *the people will not eat till he come: because he blesseth the victim:*

'The custom of the Jews is to say certain praises to God before they take food.'¹

He notes how strictly they still observe the dietary precept against boiling in milk;² but says that 'they still wear' the fringes prescribed by the Law '*in their synagogues*'.³ Here he gives interesting confirmation from the Christian side of evidence in contemporary rabbinic sources that the wearing of fringes was being neglected.⁴ Andrew and the rabbis, taken together, suggest that Jews in northern France were tending to wear fringes only on religious occasions, which marked a surprising slackening of their observance.

Andrew knew more about the Jews, therefore, than he could have learnt from their books. Linguistic reasons also suggest that the contact must have been oral. It seems that he knew the Hebrew alphabet and a little grammar and syntax; but even a Christian who could spell his way through biblical Hebrew would have been quite incapable of reading the rabbinic Hebrew in which the Jewish scholars of northern France wrote their commentaries. We cannot expect to find any exact verbal parallels between the rabbis and Hugh's and Andrew's quotations. Neither side could speak the learned language of the other. They talked in the vernacular. Hugh and Andrew were translating into Latin what their Jews translated for them from Hebrew into French. Since we possess only fragmentary records of Jewish medieval exegesis, and at present are restricted to such fragments as are available in print, the problem of tracing the Victorine sources has been a very simple one. We can only ask ourselves: What *type* of information did the rabbis consulted by Hugh and Andrew give them, when they were asked what 'the Jews said' on a given text? We have worked on the rough and ready method of collating the *Hebraei* quotations in Hugh's *Notulae* on the Pentateuch and selected passages from Andrew, which could not be traced to any known Christian source, with the few Jewish sources at our disposal.⁵

¹ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 58^b: 'Consuetudo Hebreorum est antequam cibum sumant laudes quasdam Deo dicere.'

² See below, p. 237.

³ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 41^b: '... usque hodie in synagogis suis habent Iudei fimbrias iacinctinas ob recordationem legis celitus date. . . .'

⁴ L. Rabinowitz, *op. cit.* (p. 121, n. 2), 177.

⁵ Even here we have been obliged to neglect a very possible source, Ibn Ezra, for lack of time.

The answer, for what it is worth, can be summarized as follows. In the majority of passages investigated the Jews give the old, traditional talmudic interpretation. In a few passages the interpretation, although it sounds typically midrashic, cannot be found in the obvious sources, and so presumably comes from Jewish oral tradition. Andrew's *Hebraei*, like Hugh's, quoted extensively from the teaching of Rashi. It was interesting to find that, whereas Hugh has parallels with Joseph Kara and Rashbam, Andrew has some strikingly close parallels with the younger scholar, his own contemporary, Joseph Bekhor Shor.¹ It was interesting, too, from the Jewish side, to find that Joseph Kara, Rashbam and Joseph Bekhor Shor showed an increasing knowledge of Christian exegesis and an increasing desire to refute it. Eliezer of Beaugency, on the contrary, has no parallels with Hugh or Andrew, and does not refer to Christian interpretation. This makes us wonder whether it may not be possible to trace some connexion between the Victorines and the schools of Joseph Kara, Rashbam, and Joseph Bekhor Shor.

The actual extent and quality of Jewish influence on Andrew still remains incalculable, and probably must always remain so. It could not be estimated by tracing his *Hebraei* quotations. None of his parallels with Joseph Bekhor Shor reflect the particularly rationalistic quality of Joseph's thought, or his references to contemporary custom. Andrew's most interesting and original contributions to exegesis, quoted in the last section, are not ascribed to his *Hebraei* and seem to be of his own invention. How far does his very originality, his combativeness, his fondness for literal interpretation, for parallels from contemporary life, for inserting French words into his comments (this became very common in the later part of the twelfth century, but seems to have been rare among Christian commentators when Andrew was writing), his touches of rationalism, derive from his conversations with rabbis? Though we can explain them in part by the teaching of his master and by his study of St. Jerome, he certainly becomes a much less surprising and isolated phenomenon if we set him against the contemporary Jewish background. Fortunately he has left enough material

¹ See for example his comment on the precept against boiling, below, p. 237, n. 3; the last sentence refers to the view held by Joseph, above, p. 125. He contrasts this view with the *halachic*.

in his writings to enable one at least to study the question: What did he think of the Jews and of their various methods of exegesis?

IV. ANDREW AND THE JEWS

By going to school with the Jews, Andrew set himself a difficult problem. He is proud of the learning they give him, and wants as much of it as possible; he plies them with questions. At the same time, he cannot accept their interpretation of important passages without abjuring his own faith. His Jews do not only 'state'; they 'fable', or even 'twist with their wonted shamelessness'. The Jews, on their side, were generous in giving information and able in defending it. Some of their arguments so impressed him that Richard accuses him of Judaizing:

'... I have found many things stated rashly, and discussed in an uncatholic sense. In many places the Jewish opinion is given as though it were not so much the Jews' as his own, and as though it were true. On that passage: *Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son* he gives the Jewish objections or questions without answering them; he seems to award the prize to them, since he leaves them as though they were unanswerable.'

Andrew's interviews with his rabbis must have been a lively mixture of the tutorial and the *disputatio*.

We must try to disentangle these various elements, because Andrew is admitting us to a function which the historian has very seldom been allowed to attend. The public disputation between Jews and Christians is a kind of theological battle by single combat, where we watch the exchange of blows. This is something more informal and intimate. It tells us a little of the impression that one side makes on the other. The Jewish convert to Christianity, Herman of Cologne, has described vividly his first impressions of Christian preaching, how he listened fascinated to the allegorical interpretation of the prophecies, how he fell into an agony of doubt, and felt himself for some time to be neither Jew nor Christian.¹ We know that there was a reverse side: Christians occasionally went over to Judaism and learnt Jewish exegesis;² but in the nature of things we hear about these sympathies mainly

¹ *De sua Conversione Opusculum*, P.L. clxx. 808, 825.

² Conversions on both sides may often have had personal or economic motives; but cases of Christians becoming learned in the Jewish Law are known. See L. Rabinowitz, *op. cit.* (p. 121, n. 2), 108-9.

from the prohibitions or proceedings against them. Andrew is probably unique in that he shows us the attraction at work.

The first point to strike one on reading through his commentaries is that Andrew brings his critical faculty to bear on the Jewish sources as he does on the Christian. He approves and disapproves. He criticizes from the point of view of reason as well as of faith, and more sharply from the former.

He will discriminate between the talmudic legends that are told him:

'The Jews hand down that when they were held captive in some foreign land, and God willed their return to their own, a voice was heard, its owner unseen, which warned them of their return; and that they might know with certainty that it came from God, not man, it sounded light and womanly in woodland groves, places which women do not usually frequent, loud and masculine in city streets where male voices made themselves less heard.'¹

Probably this picturesque story would strike nobody as far-fetched in crusading Europe, accustomed to all kinds of portents. Andrew repeats it without any comment. But he is sceptical about the Jewish interpretation of Ezechiel's cherubim [Ezech. i. 5]:

'Below the fire would appear the aspect, as it were, of a certain celestial creature which they call *hasmal*. When they are asked what is the use of this creature in heavenly things, or its shape or colour, whether reason grants that it can live there, whether it has been seen anywhere on earth, they don't know quite what to answer.'²

Superstitions about the angels come in for scathing criticism:

'*A swift stream of fire issued forth from before him* [Dan. vii. 10]. The Jews fable that this stream is in heaven in the presence of God, for that many thousands of angels who neglect their allotted tasks are drowned there each day, and fresh ones are created daily in place of those which perish. Heaven forbid

¹ MS. Pembroke 45, fo. 63^a: 'Tradunt Hebrei, cum captivi tenerentur in aliqua terra et voluntas Domini erat ut in suam redirent, vox quedam audiebatur nec cuius esset videbatur que de reditu illos admonebat; et ut certissime Domini illam et non hominis vocem esse pateret, in saltibus et lucis que loca femine frequentare non solent gracilis et quasi feminea, in vicis vero et in urbibus ubi viri minus audiri solebant grossior et virilis ea vox audiebatur.'

² MS. Bodl. c Mus. 62, fo. 113^a: 'Infra ignem celestis cuiusdam animalis quod "*hasmal*" appellat quasi species apparebat. Huius animalis usum in celestibus vel formam vel colorem, vel si ratio admittit ut ibi subsistat, vel sicubi in terris sit vel visum fuerit cum ab illis queritur, non satis quid respondeant inveniunt.'

that anything of the sort should be believed of the holy angels, living ever in perpetual blessedness with God! Perish the ravings that assign torments to holy and blessed spirits! What else does the *stream of fire* issuing from the Lord, which was shown to the prophet, signify, than the enduring pain of hell that he has prepared for the aforesaid kingdoms?

He is shocked by the views of certain Jews on Ezech. ix. 6, the command to the angel: *Utterly destroy old and young . . . but upon whomsoever you shall see thou, kill him not. And begin ye at my sanctuary . . .*¹

'Here certain of the Jews raise a question, which they try to solve, if solving is binding more tightly, and complicating further! They say it is the nature of certain heavenly spirits ever to rejoice in strict justice and to wish that God should always and in everything act according to the strictness of a just judgement, having no regard for mercy. Other spirits on the contrary are by nature softer and more prone to goodness and mercy. To satisfy their wish, that the whole people should not perish utterly as they deserved, the Lord commanded [the angel] to spare at least those who mourned for the sins of others [verse 4]. When the first spirits reminded him that it would be inequitable to spare these people, who had not tried to convert the others from evil, he commanded [the angel] to *begin* with those, who, according to what he had previously decided, were to have been spared.'

This is how the Jews explain: *Begin ye at my sanctuary.*

'See how rashly changing error and foolish wickedness pass judgement on changeless truth and wise, clement equity!'

Andrew counters this opinion with two lines of argument. On one apparently the Jews hold their own:

'When it is objected that they make the divine will mutable, and the divine memory in need of jogging, they seem to answer something.'

But he silences them on the context. He points out that if their story were true, then no exception would have been made, none would have been signed with the *thou*, and we know that they were; otherwise *the man that was clothed with linen, that had the inkhorn at his back* would not have said: *I have done as thou hast commanded me*; for this command alone had been enjoined on him. At this, the Jews

'shameless though they are keep silence. What need is there,

¹ See Appendix for this passage.

especially in Holy Scripture, to heed such frivolous despicable trifles and bring fables into the solution of prophetic riddles?"

Advanced Jewish commentators themselves would have agreed with Andrew in rejecting these 'fables', as he probably knew. When he has to deal with exegesis which does not strike him as legendary or fabulous, his attitude is quite different. He notes it down without stricture. On the question of the Fall, for instance, he mentions none of the Christian views about the state of innocence, but he does report his Jew:

'The Jew says that men would have been ruder and more like animals, but simpler and more innocent, had they not tasted of this tree; it was called the tree of knowledge of good and evil, because they who tasted it were to become sharper at knowing what was good, but astuter at devising evil. . . . The Jew asserts that like children they did not notice their nakedness and therefore were not ashamed.'¹

Again, when he comes to the prophecy of Balaam: *A star shall rise out of Jacob* [Num. xxiv. 17] he merely says:

'The Jews expound this of their Messias who is to do, as they think, the great things which follow.'²

The Jewish explanation is sometimes preferred to the Christian as more rational; Andrew's common sense approves it. On the question of the animals taken into the ark, the *Gloss* says that *seven and seven, the male and the female* [Gen. vii. 2] means 'only seven of each kind' not fourteen or seven pairs. This has a mystical significance. The *clean beasts* were taken in an uneven number, the *unclean beasts* in an even (two of each kind), because the uneven number signifies 'the beauty of virtue', the even 'weakness'. More of the clean than the unclean were taken so that Noe might have where-withal to sacrifice when he left the ark. The main point: 'seven only of each kind, not fourteen' was accepted by Hugh of St. Victor. Andrew prefers 'fourteen':

'But we, who try to expound the letter, not twist or destroy it, expound the text thus: *Of all clean beasts take seven and seven,*

¹ MS. Laud Lat. 105, fo. 94^c: 'Hebreus dicit quamvis rudiores et brutiores, simpliciores tamen et innocentiores homines esse futuros, si de hoc ligno non gustassent; ideoque lignum scientie boni et mali appellatum, quod qui illud gustassent ad cognoscendum quidem quid bonum esset futuri essent acutiores, sed ad machinandum malum astutiores.' Fo. 95^a: 'Asserit eos Hebreus instar puerorum nuditatem suam non advertisse et ideo non erubuisse.'

² MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 42^b: 'Hebrei exponunt hoc de messia suo qui facturus est, ut arbitrantur, magnalia que sequuntur.'

*the male and the female, that is, take seven males and take seven females. . . . The Jews too say that of all clean beasts fourteen were brought into the ark.*¹

On the whole, in his exposition of the Octateuch, Andrew's attitude towards his Jewish sources is one of detached interest and curiosity. In this early work his material is still undigested. He does not, even mentally, put the Jewish and Christian sources into parallel columns for purposes of comparison. He is making a big scrap-book, into which he pastes indiscriminately any information he can come by. As to its value he reserves judgement. Here and there his critical faculty is roused. He feels sure that he understands the text and he brushes away the Jew or Christian who disagrees with him, sometimes both: 'I do not remember to have found an adequate explanation of this passage. . . .' But this concerns a small point of no theological interest. It was easy for him to avoid committing himself on the law and history which make up the greater part of the Octateuch. It would scarcely be possible when he attempted the 'prophetic riddles'. No wonder that Andrew 'feared to undertake the task'. He must have seen those parallel columns imposing themselves: *Iudaei et Nostri*. By this time he was thoroughly 'bitten'. His Hebrew studies had gone a little to his head. Just as John the Scot, with his newly won knowledge, preferred the Greek to the Latin Fathers, so Andrew was fascinated by his Jewish teachers.

He does not tell us what his programme is going to be. There is no discussion of the nature of prophecy, only the Jewish definition of prophetic inspiration. He says on a text of Ezechiel: *the hand of the Lord was there upon him* [i. 3]:

'If we believe the Jews, this means that the power of divine inspiration, pouring itself into the human mind, displaces the man, and so takes possession of his breast, that even if he wishes he cannot retain in silence what he has secretly learnt by inspiration.'²

¹ MS. Laud Lat. 105, fo. 96^d: 'Nos vero qui litteram exponere non distorquere vel destruere studemus, hanc litteram sic exponibimus: *ex omnibus animantibus mundis tolles VII et VII masculos et feminas*; i.e. tolles VII masculos et tolles VII feminas. . . . Sed et Hebrei dicunt de omnibus mundis animantibus XIV in archam introducta fuisse.'

² MS. Bodl. e Mus. 62, fo. 112^a: 'Si credimus Hebreis hoc significatur: quod divine vis inspirationis humane sese ingerens menti sic homine toto discedere iusso totum sibi pectus vindicat, ut etiam si velit omne quod ex inspiratione secretum hausit silentio suppressere non possit.'

But we soon grasp his method. He has decided that controversial passages require a twofold exegesis. He will give:

(a) The Vulgate and its Christian explanation.

(b) The Hebrew text and its Jewish explanation.

Since the Christian is well known to his readers he will give it a brief mention and take especial pains to present the Jewish.

His comment on Isaias ii. 22 sets the rule for what follows. It is highly significant of Andrew's attitude because here at least he had a clear lead from St. Jerome. The Vulgate reads: *Cease ye therefore from the man, whose breath is in his nostrils, for he is reputed high*. Andrew first gives the traditional Christian interpretation, which he abridges from St. Jerome:

'Cease ye therefore from the Man that is, desist from persecuting the Man; cease, I say, for he is reputed high by God who sent him, and by those who believe in him. Before telling the cause why they should cease from him, the prophet proves that he is the true man, having breath in his nostrils. This is a manifest prophecy of Christ.'

Jerome explains that in Hebrew the same word stands for 'high' and for 'in what?' The Jews read it here as 'in what', so that the prophecy may not refer to Christ. 'For in what is he reputed?' that is: 'For he is reputed as nothing.' St. Jerome claims that this reduces the whole passage to nonsense; it destroys the causality: *Cease ye therefore from the man . . . for he is reputed as nothing*. Only the Christian reading, *high*, will make sense.¹ Andrew, however, thought he could supply a perfectly good alternative. The prophet is referring to the political situation:

*'But according to the Jews, who for high read in what? (for the Hebrew word means either high or in what?) it can be read thus: Ye who in the day of the vengeance of the Lord, when Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon shall fight against us, shall put your trust in king Pharaoh, and your fleshly arm, that is Egypt, who is man, not God, cease from him, that is: cease from your vain hopes in him, for in what is he reputed, either by God or men? As though to say: "he is nothing and of no import, sufficing not even to himself. Pharaoh is a broken reed to all who put their hopes in him".'*²

¹ P.L. xxiv. 56.

² MS. Pembroke 45, fo. 7^b: *'Cessate ab homine i.e. desistite persequi hominem; ideo, inquam, cessate quia ipse reputatus est a Deo qui misit illum et a credentibus in eum excelsus. Ante suppositionem vero cause quare debeant ab eo cessare probat quod verus homo sit, halitum in naribus habens. Aperta est de Christo prophetia. Potest etiam secundum Hebreos qui pro excelso "in quo" legunt*

The comment on Isa. vii. 14-16, *Behold a virgin shall conceive*, &c., struck Richard of St. Victor as especially scandalous; but it is on just the same lines. Andrew had an argument with the rabbis who instructed him:

'When we expound this manifest prophecy of the conception and birth of our Saviour, and of the perfect virginity of his Mother, ever a virgin, concerning the same, as is right, the Jews, foes of the truth, rise against us and strive with their battering ram of mockery to break down the stronghold of our faith.'

They gave him Rashi's interpretation; the prophecy refers not to the distant but the immediate future: briefly, the bride of Isaias shall conceive a son and this shall be a sign of the deliverance of Israel from *the fury of Rasin king of Syria and of the son of Romelia*. To the Christian interpretation they objected that if the prophecy referred to the birth of Christ, then the sign would have come *after* its fulfilment, the deliverance of Israel from the two kings, instead of before, as logically it should. If Andrew is reporting them *verbatim* they were very eloquent. Is it possible to answer them? Andrew hesitates; honestly he does not think so:

'These are the darts which the Jews hurl against us, calling us perverters and violent distorters of Holy Writ. There is no need for us to answer them, since others have done so before us; but whether their answer is sufficient, let those who have answered judge. Nor would it be useful [for us to answer]. Were we to enter the lists with strength unequal to the doubtful contest, we might perhaps yield. Then the Jews, victorious, would insult not only us, but those whose sharp and lively skill would have vanquished them easily, had they competed. We have put forth all our strength; so now we leave deeds of bravery to braver men. Let us continue the explanation of the literal sense which we have begun.'

For Andrew the 'literal sense' is the Jewish explanation.

Similarly the rod out of the root of Jesse [Isa. xi. 1] is ex-

(verbum enim Hebraicum equivoce et excelsum et in quo significat) sic legi: Vos qui in die ultionis Domini preliante contra nos rege Babylonis Nabugodonosor fiduciam in Pharaonem regem et brachium vestram carnalem i.e. Egyptum qui est homo non Deus posituri estis, quiescite ab illo i.e. cessate frustra spem in illo ponere, quia in quo reputatus est ipse vel a Deo vel ab hominibus? Quasi diceret: nichil est et nullius momenti, etiam se ipsi adesce insufficiens. Baculus enim arundineus est Pharaon omnibus in ipsum sperantibus.'

¹ See *P.L.* cxcv. 601. Richard's text corresponds very closely to that of MS. Pembroke 45.

pounded both of Christ and of the Jewish Messiah, 'whom they are still awaiting'. Andrew repeats one of the messianic legends: the Messiah was born on the day that Nabuzardan burnt the temple, and remains in the place which God has allotted him until the day of mercy. Andrew is able to use the same exposition for both his Jewish and his Christian sources:

'Why does the prophet now speak of the Messiah as *the root of Jesse* [xi. 10], when above he has said that the Messiah shall come forth *out of the root of Jesse* as rod and a flower? If this does not refer to the Messiah, or rather our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom else does the prophet speak? It cannot be said that this refers to Jesse, the father of David, already dead. . . . The [Jewish] Messiah, or our Christ, is called *the root of Jesse* because. . . .'

He goes on to give various reasons for the change of expression. *My just one is near at hand* [li. 5] is expounded as:

'Understand either Cyrus, or according to us our Lord and Saviour, or according to the Jews their Messiah.'

But when he comes to *the man of sorrows*, Andrew's imagination is so fired by the Jewish exegesis that he does not even mention the Christian. *The man of sorrows* refers collectively to the Jews of the captivity, who expiate by their sufferings the sins of their whole race. Or, according to another Jewish view, he is the prophet Isaias himself, who personifies his people and sacrifices himself for them. Perhaps the conception had some special appeal for Andrew. Perhaps he felt happy with an explanation that kept him within his familiar and chosen field of Old Testament history, and which did not look forward to the New. He enters into the spirit of it so eagerly that he is ready to manipulate the words of the text in its favour:¹

'The prophet', he says, 'is reverting to the time when this same people was grievously oppressed in the Babylonian captivity, when indeed there was *no beauty nor comeliness* in it. *And we have seen him*, I and the other prophets, or the prophet speaks of himself in the plural . . . *And we were desirous of him, despised and the most abject of men*: we sighed and mourned that he should be *despised and most abject of men*. Since desire calls forth sighing, *we were desirous* may also be read, without absurdity, as *we sighed*.'

¹ See Appendix.

When Andrew says 'without absurdity' it is a sign that he realizes himself to be on dangerous ground. One copy has a disapproving note in the margin:

'You punish your text with sufficient violence, while you strive too much to Judaize!'¹

He continues:

'*A man of sorrows*: The prophet is speaking of the people as though of one man, whom he calls a *man of sorrows* . . . *His look was so hidden and despised* that even we ourselves almost despised of him; and *we esteemed him not* to be of the number of men; that is the people was so abject that it scarcely esteemed itself as of the number of men. *Surely he hath borne our infirmities*: by these words the prophet means that the people who were to suffer in the Babylonian captivity were to expiate not only their own sins, but also the sins of the unrighteous: "Surely that *man of sorrows* will carry our infirmities and sorrows, which we, for our sins, ought to bear." *And we have thought of him as it were a leper*. Here the prophet is numbering himself among those who supposed that the people of the captivity was to be taken captive for its own sins, and that its own sins required it to be separated as a leper from God's people, struck and humbled by God. "So we supposed" [says the prophet] "but this very people *was wounded for our iniquities and bruised for our sins*; it was scourged and bruised that we might have peace and be healed." Here the prophet numbers himself among posterity, for whom the chastisement of this people have brought peace. . . . At last, by God's mercy it will be taken away *from distress* . . . *and judgement*, that is punishment, under Cyrus. . . . *And he shall give the ungodly for his burial and the rich for his death*; the stricken people shall not perish, but *the ungodly and the rich*, that is the men of Babylon, unbelieving, absorbed by riches, shall be given to *burial and death* in its stead. . . . *Because he hath done no iniquity*; this refers to the righteous; these things can apply only to the elect, and are said to them. . . . [*Because his soul hath laboured*] *he shall see*: understand: what he has desired to *see*. We can say that, being led forth from the darkness of prison and tribulation, *he shall see* and understand; he shall be endowed with the gift of understanding. . . . *Because he hath delivered his soul*: this can refer only to those who went into exile willingly, by the counsel of the prophets, as Jechonias and those who submitted to the Babylonians. *Unto death*: to be afflicted with afflictions as grievous as death. . . . *He hath prayed for the transgressors*: the

¹ MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 574, fo. 70^v: 'Satis violenter hunc textum exsequeris dum nimis iudaizare tu niteris.'

more chosen prayed to God simply for those of their people who were transgressing his law, that they might be changed for the better.

‘But some of the Jews interpret this whole passage as referring to Isaias.’

Reading Andrew, one sometimes has to rub one’s eyes! It is extraordinary to think that this was written at St. Victor, by a pupil of Hugh, that he was begged to continue his work, begged to resume his abbacy, and finally buried ‘with great honour.’ The twelfth century is full of surprises.

Most interesting and startling of all is his treatment of Daniel’s prophecy [Dan. ix. 24–7].¹ On this passage in the last of the Prophets, Andrew makes his supreme effort. He tries to find a sort of *via media* between Christian and Jewish exegesis. The question is whether the ‘seventy times seven’ years ‘shortened upon thy people’ may be referred to the period between Daniel’s prophecy and the coming of Christ. The Jews say that it means the period between the Babylonian captivity and the building of the second temple. Both these interpretations have their difficulties. It is a complicated chronological argument, which takes up three closely written folios; so we will not attempt to follow its ramifications. Andrew begins by giving the Hebrew version of the text instead of the Vulgate, and the Jewish interpretation:

‘Since we have decided to give, in this part of our work, the exposition which we have received from the most learned of the Jews, it seemed right to give also the text which they say they have here.’

There is one point about their explanation which he cannot bring himself to follow:

‘Even should we, although unwilling, approve everything else in the Jewish exposition of this deep passage of Scripture, to explain which our scholars have spent no little toil, I do not see how we can manage to approve *this*. . . .’

Typically ‘this’ is an historical point. The Jewish reckoning will not allow for the thirty years which ‘historians and philosophers’ allot to Cyrus of Persia after the overthrow of Babylon, nor for the ten years which the Christian reckoning allots to his two successors, Cambyses and Evilmerodoch.

¹ See Appendix.

A Christian apologist, the *aliquis* who always gets the worst of the argument, now bustles on to the scene:

“The authority of canonical Scripture, which the Jews cannot and ought not to dispute, compels them to admit that Cyrus had other successors. . . .” No, replies Andrew, defending the Jews: this cannot be proved from Scripture, and we cannot expect them to accept writings which they have never seen; especially as the biblical writers were contemporary with their narrative. (Evidently he found that, with the Jews, discussion must be limited to proofs from Scripture:)

“We do not ask them to contradict their own canonical Scriptures in particular, which we too wish in no wise to contradict, or to remember writers whom they have never read, but let us ask that, saving authority if possible, they should not nullify our traditions by theirs. Let us so contest in this doubtful contest that tradition may not prejudice tradition, and we may seem to contend, not for the sake of victory, but in order to establish the truth. Since the canonical Scriptures stand for both sides, let us see whether they give reasonable support to one view rather than the other. And first let us treat of the seventy years of the desolation of Jerusalem [Dan. ix. 2] since the root of the question lies here.’

At length he decides for the Christian view of these ‘seventy years of desolation’. He believes that the biblical writers, Daniel and Esdras, corroborate it.

‘We say the same [as Daniel and Esdras do]. If this is turning from the right path, it is erring in company with great authorities. I know not whether it is not wiser and safer to err, as the Jews call it, with Daniel and Esdras, and with our elders, men of great diligence and skill, who follow them, than to walk with the Jews of to-day, what, if we believe them, is the right path. For the Jews of to-day care much more for money-making than for careful exegesis.’

This is the only time that Andrew forgets his manners; he sounds injured. The ‘most learned of the Jews’ must have escaped from an interminable argument by pleading urgent business elsewhere.

The discussion closes with Andrew’s own view of the ‘seventy times seven’ years. It is based on the Jewish text, but differs from both the Christian and the Jewish interpretation. Andrew has selected and has evolved a reckoning of his own; but he does not allow it to be a prophecy of Christianity. He ends triumphantly:

‘Having run briefly through these matters relating to the

seventy weeks of years, we will proceed. The seventy times seven years of our translation have been expounded and assigned with sufficient care by our scholars; so we leave them untouched, according to the translation which our people use. We have expounded them to the best of our ability as they are read among the Jews. Let no one be surprised if we have counted to certain years now more, now less, giving various opinions, and in certain places following the Jews.'

For the text 'as read among the Jews', Andrew has an admiring affection. His constant refrain, on comparing it with the Vulgate, is 'more clearly in the Hebrew'. He has a *simpliste* attitude towards problems of textual criticism, which is delightfully expressed in his comment on the Vulgate version of Num. xxiv. 15: *Balaam the son of Beor, hath said: The man whose eye is stopped up hath said. . . .*

'The Hebrew, and Origen's translation has: *whose eye is opened*. This reading fits into the context, whereas the translation which we use is quite contrary to this same context. But to struggle with a false reading is not only idle; it is madness. Since all the rest of Balaam's speech is in praise of himself, why should he blame himself in this alone? Moreover when immediately afterwards he says that his eyes are *opened* [verse 16], why should he say here that they are *stopped up*, which is such a contradiction?'¹

Andrew demands that his text should make plain sense and he seems to find that the Hebrew fulfils this requirement better than the Vulgate. Actually the problem was more complicated than he thought. The Hebrew manuscripts varied. Rashi's version of the text has: *whose eye is stopped up*, as the Vulgate, and Rashi can only explain the contradiction by holding that Balaam was blind in one eye. Andrew sometimes exposes mistakes in the Vulgate manuscripts. So great is his reverence for the Hebrew that it does not strike him to ask whether variations may not be found here too.

What are we to conclude about Andrew's attitude towards the Jews and Judaism? Readers who have had patience with him so far will have classified him, I am sure, as 'superficial'. He refuses to make decisions. As soon as he

¹ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 42^b: 'In Hebreo et in translatione Origenis habet: cuius revelatus est oculus, que littera convenientiam habet cum circumstantia, cum nostra translatio qua utimur multum adversari eidem circumstantie inveniatur; sed in exponenda falsa littera laborare non modo est otiosi sed etiam furiosi. Cum cetera omnia in commendatione sui dicat quomodo in hoc solo se culparet? Preterea cum statim post dicat quod apertos habet oculos quomodo hic dicit se habere obscuratos cum hec tam contraria sint?'

reaches any fundamental point of doctrine his pursuit of 'the fugitive truth' comes to a sudden halt. Is it a sceptical shrug on the edge of the precipice? Does he believe that truth has taken refuge on the Jewish side, among the rationalistic Jewish exegetes who so impressed him? Or has he perhaps despaired of finding her on either side? Is he doubtful and tormented, like Otloh of St. Emeran, or happily eclectic, like a humanist scholar?

Andrew never loses, even in his most vigorous moments, the sober serenity of the Victorine. His disarming frankness, and his desire that the Jewish arguments should have fair play, are proof of it. His commentaries on 'Solomon', where debatable points do not crop up, show no sign of any reaction. He believes in his researches as firmly as ever. We can only understand his attitude towards his Jewish teachers if we consider his whole view of exegesis. The two things in his mind are inseparable. He thinks of them together: 'the Jews and the Letter'.

'Superficial' is what Andrew sets out to be. He undertakes to expound *iuxta superficiem littere*, 'according to the surface of the letter'. His use of this catch-phrase is significant. That he chooses to concentrate on the 'letter' does not mean that he rejects the 'spiritual exposition' in principle. On the contrary. He takes it for granted. On the famous text of Solomon [Prov. xxii. 20] he says:

'Behold I have described it to thee three manner of ways: historically, tropologically, anagogically.'¹

He has no idea of laying down new principles. He would shun such a thing; for Andrew, clear and intelligent about details, is a positive addle-pate about theories. Yet the task he set himself demanded a clear head indeed. No western commentator before him had set out to give a purely literal interpretation of the Old Testament, though many had attempted a purely spiritual one. There was general uncertainty as to the content of the letter. There were no rules for defining it, just as there were no rules for establishing one's text. Andrew would have to define how much the literal interpretation included for himself. It was a harsh problem for one who shrank from definitions.

Such guidance as he could get came from St. Jerome and Hugh of St. Victor. Hugh regarded the literal sense as

¹ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 102^c.

important because it was the foundation of the spiritual; it was the wax of the honeycomb. He associated the literal sense with grammar and history, the allegorical with theology, the tropological with preaching. Conversely, his pupils would tend to dissociate theology and preaching from the literal sense. Then Andrew would have to collate his master's teaching on 'letter and spirit' with his other distinction; Hugh spoke also of 'letter', 'sense', and 'sentence' or opinion. The first two, letter and sense, mean the construing of one's text, and the explanation of its simple surface meaning, which includes metaphor and simile. Obviously both of these come under the literal sense, and so are Andrew's province. What of the 'sentence', the deep meaning or conclusion to be drawn from 'letter and sense'? This need not be an allegory or trope. It may be a theological or moral deduction; and there is a world of difference; allegory merely illustrates theology; a 'sentence' defines and establishes doctrine itself. Should 'sentences' be included in the historical exposition? Andrew decided not. Or perhaps he so identified allegory and theology that the dilemma never occurred to him.

This is the key to his treatment of the prophecies. A manifest prophecy of Christ is a 'sentence'. As such it may be mentioned, and then safely left to the theologians. Let the cobbler stick to his last. Andrew undertakes to explain the literal sense; he need not concern himself with mysteries. The Jewish explanation strikes him as plainer, simpler, more intelligible than the Christian, just what the literal sense was always said to be in comparison with the spiritual. If it was unedifying to Christians, the literal sense was admitted to be often unedifying. Edification and theological truth must be supplied by those who would build allegories and moralities on Andrew's 'literal foundation'.

Moreover St. Jerome had taught him to associate the literal sense with the Jews. There were two St. Jeromes: one who was fascinated by Alexandrian allegory and spoke slightly of the literal or 'fleshly' sense; the other a scholar and humanist fascinated by the letter. This second was the 'venerable Jerome' whom Andrew intended to 'follow with unequal step'. But his own merits and defects were too like St. Jerome's for him to be able to distinguish them. Neither Andrew nor St. Jerome had a head for distinctions.

The saint taught him that Jews expounded in a literal or

carnal, Christians in a spiritual sense. This was still regarded as the main difference between them. Andrew's contemporary, Bartholomew, bishop of Exeter (*d.* 1184), writes in his *Dialogue against the Jews*:

'The chief cause of disagreement between ourselves and the Jews seems to me to be this: they take all the Old Testament literally, wherever they can find a literal sense, unless it gives manifest witness to Christ. Then they repudiate it, saying that it is not in the Hebrew Truth, that is in their books, or they refer it to some fable, as that they are still awaiting its fulfilment, or they escape by some other serpentine wile, when they feel themselves hard pressed. They will never accept allegory, except when they have no other way out. *We* interpret not only the words of Scripture, but the things done, and the deeds themselves, in a mystical sense, yet in such a way that the freedom of allegory may in no wise nullify, either history in the events, or proper understanding of the words, of Scripture.'¹

Bartholomew's last clause points to the difficulty: history must not be replaced by allegory. Andrew learnt from St. Augustine that each text had a literal meaning. He deduces, incorrectly but excusably, that the literal meaning of a text must necessarily be what the Jews say about it. If you want to know the literal sense, go to the Jews.

Andrew went. It was the only form of biblical research open to him; and he gathered from the second, the scholarly Jerome, that, for the Old Testament at least, the Jews had a living tradition and were a useful source of information. Had he gone a hundred years earlier, he would have found no connexion between 'literalism' and Jewish exegesis. He would have found that the Jews were just as devoted to allegory and fancy as the Christians were. Then perhaps he might have realized that there was a mistake somewhere. He might have been forced to reconsider his premisses and analyse that misleading word 'literal'. But Rashi had directed Jewish exegesis into new channels; he had made it 'literal' in the sense that it kept closely to the text and preferred rational to allegorical explanations. Among the Jews, too, the relations between literal and allegorical senses were conceived rather differently; it was rather a question of choosing between them, than the Christian method of superimposing one upon the other. So Andrew's tendency

¹ MS. Bodl. 482, fo. 1^d. The treatise was written in Bartholomew's old age. See A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter* (Cambridge, 1937), 109, 164.

to think that 'literal' meant the same thing as 'non-mystical' or 'rational' must have been confirmed by his Jewish teachers.

If the literal sense is defined simply as the whole meaning intended by the sacred writer, then there is no real connexion between the letter and rationalism. The miraculous and symbolic element in Scripture may perfectly well be emphasized by an exponent of the literal sense. But commentators had not begun to think in these terms. They still thought of letter and spirit, in antithesis, as they thought of body and soul. We can easily understand how Andrew would fuse together Letter, Jews, and Reason in his eagerness to investigate the literal meaning. The more modern of the Jewish exegetes must have given him just the rational and literal outlook that he needed.

He does not feel their exegesis to be dangerous. He conceives his own task too modestly for that. His chosen field is the letter. Not for him the mysteries of theology and apologetics. One would like to know how he retorted, when it was pointed out to him that his position 'scandalised the proficient and brought the less proficient into ill repute'. One would give much for his reply to the *De Emmanuele*. But when that was written he was back at Wigmore, pre-occupied with Hugh de Mortimer and building the abbey church.

We are left with what looks like a contradiction. Andrew had accepted the current view of the literal exposition with all its restrictions; that is, he condemned himself, wittingly, to spend his life in grubbing among the 'literal foundations' while others did the building. This was his idea of the quest for truth! He must have seemed a rather harmful eccentric to some of his contemporaries. The qualified, relative enthusiasm of Hugh for the letter had become a devouring passion in his pupil. And the pupil brought such freshness and energy, such keenness of judgement and independence, that he triumphed in his task, in spite of the antiquated conceptions that he could not shake off; he succeeded in renewing biblical scholarship.

Probably Andrew could not have explained himself. He was an instinctive, unreasoning rationalist. The lyrical impulse of the twelfth century was taking a peculiar form in him. Theologians were building the complicated structure of their disputations on the basis of the Pauline Epistles.

Mystics, like Richard, were soaring upward, on the wings of the spiritual exposition. Andrew was burrowing, pressing down closer to his text and its meaning:

alta petunt levia
centrum tenent gravia
renovantur omnia.

It was the spring that Adam of St. Victor celebrated.

V. ANDREW'S INFLUENCE

Andrew gives content to an exclamation of St. Bernard which otherwise we might have passed over as one of the prophet's *beaux cris*.¹ St. Bernard is writing to Master Henry Murdac, urging him to leave his studies and enter the 'school of piety' at Clairvaux. Master Henry is reading the Prophets: why seek the Word in books when he has come to us in the flesh? He has long left the obscurities of the Prophets to reveal himself to sinners: he has come down from the cloudy heights of the Law to the plain of the Gospels:

'O had you once tasted a little of the fat of corn that filleth Jerusalem, how gladly would you leave their crusts to be gnawed by the lettered Jews!'²

This was probably written some time before Andrew expounded the Prophets. St. Bernard had his way and Henry Murdac entered Clairvaux before 1135.³ He came from Yorkshire; we do not know where he earned the title of 'master' that St. Bernard gives him; we have no evidence to connect him with the Victorines. But he must have been doing something of the same kind as Andrew. The letter expresses in a striking manner what St. Bernard would have thought of Andrew's studies. He was reading the Prophets instead of the Gospels. He was gnawing the dry outer crust of Scripture, in the company of 'lettered' (i.e. literally minded) Jews; the monks of Clairvaux were filled with the fat of its inner spiritual meaning as they listened to their abbot preaching.⁴ Andrew's activities would have struck

¹ I take the description from Dom Wilmart, '... Prophète inspiré qui jette de beaux cris', *Auteurs Spirituels et Textes Dévots du Moyen Âge Latin* (Paris, 1932), 252.

² *Ep.* cvi.

³ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* xxxix. 321-3. Henry Murdac died as archbishop of York in 1153.

⁴ Bread signifies Scripture, the crust the letter, the 'crumb' the spiritual meaning. This allusion gives the key to St. Bernard's letter. *Lectio divina* in the Cistercian sense, i.e. the Scriptures lived and experienced as well as read, is contrasted with the intellectual study of Scripture in the schools.

him as hardly less dangerous than the irreverent questioning and 'mapping out the Trinity' that he condemned in Abailard. We may wonder how many religious shared his opinion. The literal sense was well known to be misleading. Now Andrew's passionate embrace of the letter had produced a crop of Judaizing commentaries, just as might have been expected. It was enough, one would think, to cause a strong reaction against biblical scholarship and the school of St. Victor.

In fact, we find the contrary. Biblical studies were continued, in a more orthodox spirit, by Andrew's successors, just as theological speculation continued after the condemnation of Abailard. The Cistercians themselves must have read Andrew; four of their libraries are known to have possessed copies of his works. In order to gauge the extent of his influence we may follow three different lines of evidence. They supplement one another and each one points to much the same conclusion.

First, we have the evidence of Andrew himself, of Richard of St. Victor, and of Roger Bacon. Andrew says that he undertook his last work, on Solomon, 'compelled by the many urgent requests of his friends'. The conventional phrase may have some meaning, since it does not occur in his earlier works. In the first book of the *De Emmanuele* Richard tells us that Andrew had disciples who upheld his view of the prophecy of Isaias: Richard will refute it, for the benefit of those who have already, and may in future, be led astray.¹ Then, in the prologue to his second book, he says that the first book of his refutation has offended a certain disciple of Andrew's, who is still involved in error. The second book, therefore, consists in an argument between Richard and Andrew's disciple.² The latter shows a touching loyalty to his master. When Richard has brought him to reject the Jewish interpretation, he tries to deny that Andrew had taken any responsibility for it:

'Do not call it my master's opinion, but the Jews'; for of course he put it forward not as his own but as theirs.'

Richard is able to show that Andrew had given it as the literal sense of the passage. This was unfortunate, as the disciple has to confess. He tries to explain it away on the grounds of Andrew's general attitude; Andrew, he says, has

¹ P.L. cxcvi. 601.

² Ibid. 633.

warned his readers that in many places he is expounding not his own but the Jewish view. 'He ought to have made clear that very thing: whether he is giving his own, true, opinion, or the false Jewish one' is Richard's relentless answer. As a last resort the disciple tries the argument that Andrew was speaking 'in irony'.¹ Although he ends as a docile questioner, he never repudiates his master in so many words.

Roger Bacon was writing about a hundred years later, 1271 or 1272. In the *Compendium Studii Philosophiae* he complains that many exegetes are giving 'authority' to 'a certain Andrew who expounds the Bible *ad litteram*'. Authority² ought to be reserved for the Fathers. It is significant that elsewhere Bacon makes the same complaint about the contemporary attitude to St. Albert the Great. Although he thinks that Andrew was 'a learned man and probably knew Hebrew', Bacon finds his exegesis open to criticism. Nevertheless he ends on a rare note of approval. To Andrew belongs the credit of sending exegetes to their original sources:

'In this, however, he is very praiseworthy: he stirs us up about the doubtful passages of our translation, in many cases, though not always, and sends us to the Hebrew, that we may seek our explanations more surely at the root. *Few would take thought for the true explanation of this passage and of many others, unless they had seen how Andrew treats it.*'³

Secondly, we have the manuscripts of Andrew's commentaries; and these confirm Roger Bacon's statement.⁴ Fourteen are known to survive; others may be hidden in the great mass of inadequately catalogued commentaries in our libraries. Fourteen seems a respectable total if one realizes that Andrew's public must have been austere and restricted; it corresponded to that which now takes the *Journal of Theological Studies* and the *Revue Biblique*.

The earliest manuscript is a beautiful copy of his work on the Heptateuch, written soon after the middle of the twelfth century, from Beaupré (MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 356). It has the *explicit* already quoted, proudly calling itself a book of extracts from the Fathers, Josephus, and the 'traditions of

¹ P.L. cxcvi. 638-41.

² The meaning of this expression has been worked out by M. D. Chenu, '“Authentica” et “Magistralia”', *Divus Thomas* (Placentia, 1925), xxviii. 3-31. It is used for the Scriptures and the Fathers as opposed to the 'moderns'.

³ *Compendium*, viii, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), 482-3.

⁴ I hope to publish a paper, 'MSS. of the Commentaries of Andrew of St. Victor', in *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.*

the Jews'. Then we have three Victorine manuscripts at Paris, written towards the end of the twelfth century: Andrew on the Heptateuch (MS. Lat. 14798); on Isaias, with the general prologue to the Prophets (MS. Mazarine 175); on Ezechiel (MS. Lat. 14432). The last two are so alike in size and script that one supposes that they originally went together; probably they formed part of a complete set of Andrew on the Prophets; both were bound up with miscellaneous material in the fifteenth century. A thirteenth-century Victorine manuscript (Bibl. Nat. Lat. 14803) has Andrew on Kings and Chronicles.

The *corpus* of Andrew's works was probably still available at Paris towards the end of the thirteenth century. MS. Vat. Lat. 1053 contains the whole set, except for his exposition of Jeremias, written in a Paris hand of the later thirteenth or early fourteenth century, bound up with other literal expositions of Scripture. It belonged to Cardinal John de Murro, who died in 1313, and was acquired from him by the Franciscans of Fabriano in Ancona. Andrew's works also spread to the Rhineland and Austria. The Cistercians of Eberbach had Andrew on the Octateuch, Chronicles, and the Minor Prophets, written in a hand of the mid-thirteenth century, now MS. Bodl. Laud Lat. 105. The Benedictines of Melk had 'Master Andrew's prologue in explanation of Isaias' as we see from their fifteenth-century catalogue.

Another important group comes from English monastic libraries. These are mainly *éditions de luxe*, larger, more decorated, and better written than the continental manuscripts, with the exception of the early one from Beaupré. The earliest English manuscript is an anonymous copy of Andrew on Kings, in a hand of the late twelfth century, from the Cistercian abbey of Buildwas in Shropshire, now MS. Trinity College Cambridge B.I. 29(27). The finest, now MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 30, contains 'Abbot Andrew' on the Octateuch, Chronicles, the Minor Prophets, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes. M. R. James thought that the red initials of the title-page suggested the Cistercian abbey of Coggeshall in Essex; but Boston of Bury saw a manuscript with exactly the same selection of Andrew's works at Gisbourne Priory in Yorkshire. Wherever it came from, Andrew had found an appreciative reader, who noted the important points in the margin and wrote: 'bona est expositio et utilis valde' beside the opening of Ecclesiastes.

The monks of Worcester had Andrew on the Octateuch and Chronicles (the same College, MS. 217). Boston saw Andrew on Isaias, Jeremias, and Daniel at St. Edmundsbury, which is the present MS. Pembroke College Cambridge 45; one is grateful for this manuscript as it contains the only copy of Andrew on Jeremias that we possess. The Cistercians of Kingswood had Andrew on the two visions of Ezechiel, excerpted from his commentary on this prophet (MS. Bodl. e Mus. 62). The Kingswood treatise is interesting, since the taking of excerpts is a good test of the popularity of a medieval writer. These four latter manuscripts are in hands of the second, third, or fourth decades of the thirteenth century. Boston also saw copies of Andrew on Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers at Newminster in Northumberland, on Exodus to Chronicles at St. Peter's, Gloucester.

A manuscript of a different type, now Corpus Christi College Cambridge 315, belonged to the Franciscans of Oxford; it contains Andrew on Kings and Chronicles, in a small unpretentious little book, meant only for use. Some friar has been reading him in the critical spirit recommended by Bacon. Andrew's comment on 1 Sam. i. 28: '*ego commodavi eum Domino . . . ideo non accepi eum tanquam mihi reservaturum et apud me retenturum . . .*' has provoked a note:

'Andrew here uses false Latin; hence you may believe that he often speaks false Hebrew; for he says *reservaturum* and *retenturum* for *reservandum* and *retinendum*.'

On ii. 1: *dilatatum est os meum super inimicos meos, quia laetata sum*, &c., Andrew says that *quia* is not to be found in the Hebrew. The same thirteenth-century hand has written: '*falsum est!*'

Latest of all, and for that reason perhaps the most significant, is a manuscript which belonged to the Dominicans of Venice, now MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 574. It is written in two Italian hands of the fifteenth century and dated Innocents' Day, 1461. Here we have Andrew on Isaias and Daniel, bound up in a collection which reflects the varied interests of fifteenth-century Italy. First comes a treatise by Constant of Capri on the martyrdom of Brother Anthony de Ripoli O.P. in 1460 at the hands of the Moors;¹ then a series of rhyming epitaphs of Roman emperors and generals; then notes for preachers; then Andrew on Isaias, followed by the *Scrutinium Scripturarum* of Paul of Burgos, 'which he composed

¹ Described in Quétif Echard, *Script. Ord. Praed.* (1719), i. 907.

after his additions to the *Postillae* of Nicolas of Lyra, A.D. 1434, in his eighty-first year'; last comes Andrew on Daniel. The juxtaposition of Andrew, a 'Judaizing' Christian and Paul of Burgos, a Jewish convert to Christianity, was not accidental; marginal notes show an interest in this aspect of Andrew's work. The scribe draws attention to the 'Judaizing' distortion of *desideravimus* (Isa. lii. 2). A different hand has added a note, entitled 'Hebreorum fatuitates', at the end of the commentary.¹

Andrew's exposition of the *Ecce virgo concipiet* had a history of its own, distinct from that of his commentary on Isaias, since it is quoted in the *De Emmanuele*. This treatise was one of the most popular of Richard's works and survives in many manuscripts. The first book circulated separately, without its prologue, under the title: 'The objections of Andrew, according to which the Jews oppose us on our Emmanuel.' In his anxiety to refute Andrew's exegesis, Richard introduced it to a much wider circle than it would otherwise have reached; he aroused interest in the Jewish arguments that Andrew brought forward.

Our third and surest type of evidence is the quotations of Andrew by later writers. The obvious place for our search to begin is the *Historia Scholastica*, the great summary of biblical history by Peter Comestor, the Paris master who became Chancellor in 1169 and died about ten years later. Peter had written one of the most popular books of the middle ages. It became a 'set book' in the schools and formed the subject of lecture courses, just as did the *Gloss*; hence it got its name, the *Historia Scholastica*; but the twelfth-century masters knew it simply as the *Histories*. They call the Comestor 'the Master of the *Histories*', as they call the Lombard 'the Master of the Sentences'. Outside the schools it became a classic with both clergy and laity. It was translated into the vernaculars and versified;² it often figures in medieval wills. The reverence and admiration inspired by the author are expressed in his nickname 'Comestor' or

¹ *Guf* means *corpus* and is a place where all souls, according to the Jewish heresy, were stored from the beginning of the world, and thence they are taken when they are infused into bodies; hence it says in many places in the Talmud that the Messiah shall not come until all the souls in this place are used up; the corollary follows that the Messiah will not come so long as there is a pregnant woman among them (fo. 71^r).

² R. Martin, 'Notes sur l'œuvre littéraire de Pierre le Mangeur', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* iii (1931), 54-5.

'Manducator', the Eater. He had eaten and digested the Scriptures.

The Comestor says in his prologue that the cause of his work was the pleading of his colleagues. They needed a compendium of what was scattered and diffused in the Bible and its glosses.¹ The *Histories*, it has been pointed out, were really fulfilling the programme of the *Didascalicon*. Here Hugh of St. Victor had taught that theology must begin with a thorough grounding in biblical history. Peter was providing just such a groundwork. He had written a textbook for the students and an invaluable work of reference for their teachers.

We know that the Comestor had personal relations with St. Victor. He is said to have resigned his chancellorship and retired there for his last years. If it is natural to find the inspiration of the *Histories* in Hugh of St. Victor, it is also natural to guess that they owe something to Andrew. The Comestor's seventeenth-century editors noticed, with some scandal, that he made use of Jewish and other unauthoritative sources. They excuse him on the grounds that he is merely reporting, without committing himself; he says *tradunt, narrant Hebraei, alii dicunt*.² It was not surprising, though of course delightful, to find that very often the *Hebraei* and *alii* of the *Histories* mean Andrew.³ They introduce passages which have been 'lifted' straight from his commentary. Peter Comestor has used Andrew on the Octateuch as a principal source for the *Histories*. The fact has hitherto been overlooked because he does not refer to Andrew by name. Peter follows the medieval custom of borrowing from contemporaries without acknowledgement, and referring to them, when this is necessary, as *quidam* or *alii*. He must have been writing in Andrew's lifetime, since Archbishop William of Sens (1169-75) to whom the *Histories* were dedicated, died in the same year as Andrew. Hugh of St. Victor, on the other hand, had been dead long enough to be quoted by name. Peter refers to an opinion of 'Master Hugh of St. Victor', which he takes from Andrew's exposition; Andrew, writing in his master's lifetime or soon after his death, had referred to him as *quidam*. Great as Hugh's

¹ *P.L.* cxcviii. 1053.

² *Ibid.* 1052.

³ From here to the end of the chapter I am summarizing my article 'The School of Andrew of St. Victor', in *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* xi (1939), 145-67, with a few additions. Those references which are not given will be found there.

authority was, Peter agrees with Andrew in rejecting his opinion in this case, and he prefers Andrew's.

Another likely hunting-ground for quotations is a series of glosses on the Old Testament by another Peter, called the Chanter because he held this office at Notre Dame; he died in 1197. We know him best for his great 'moralistic summa', the *Verbum Abbreviatum*, the only one of his works that has been printed; but he is also important as an exegete. So far as we know, the Chanter was the first of the Paris masters to lecture on the literal and spiritual sense of the greater part of Scripture. I have noticed a definite connexion between these glosses and the *Histories*.

Like the Comestor, the Chanter must have been writing either while Andrew was still alive, or soon after his death, and Andrew's name is never mentioned in the glosses. But they contain even more quotations from Andrew than the *Histories* do. The Chanter sets the tone of his work by quoting Andrew's prologue to Genesis almost *in toto* in his exposition of Gen. i. 1. Then he goes through the Octateuch, using Andrew as his principal source, after the *Gloss*, for the literal exposition.

The first person, to my knowledge, to quote Andrew by name was far from the schools both in body and in spirit. He was 'Master Adam', canon of the Premonstratensian abbey of Dryburgh in Berwickshire; he was abbot from c. 1184 to 1188, then entered the Charterhouse at Witham and died there about 1212. 'Of medium height, rather fat, cheerful, bald, reverend in character as in years', Adam was a true contemplative, learned in a solid, old-fashioned way.¹ His treatise on the threefold sense of the tabernacle, written at Dryburgh in 1179 or 1180, is a typical product of the 'holy reading', which he gave himself to with 'inexhaustible zeal and incredible fervour'. He allots a whole book to the appearance of the Tabernacle and its ornaments, in order to collect as many and as certain details as possible for use afterwards in the spiritual exposition. For establishing these details he has consulted the work of Andrew as well as the *Historia Scholastica*; and 'Master Andrew' comes second only to St. Augustine and the Venerable Bede. Adam quotes him

¹ On Adam see A. Wilmart, 'Magister Adam Cartusiensis', *Mélanges Mandonnet*, ii (Paris, 1930), 145-61; 'Maître Adam chanoine Prémontré devenu chartreux à Witham', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, ix (1933), 207-32; F. Petit, *Ad Viros Religiosos, Quatorze Sermons d'Adam Scot* (Tongerloo, 1934).

by name in the first chapter,¹ later on as 'a certain master more expert than others', 'that eloquent man', 'a certain man as eloquent as religious'.

It would be interesting to know how Adam's copy of Andrew came to Dryburgh. Since Adam had studied arts, not theology, before he entered religion,² he is unlikely to have brought it with him. It seems that copies of Andrew's works had begun to go round the English monastic libraries at least by 1180.

The next set of quotations takes us back to Paris. Stephen Langton, the greatest biblical scholar of the later twelfth century, uses him when glossing the Octateuch. Fortunately we know that Langton had reached the first book of Kings at the end of 1187 or very soon afterwards; hence Andrew must have been dead for about ten years when Langton began to gloss the book of Genesis. It was now decent to quote Andrew by name, and he is mentioned specifically seventeen times in Langton's work on the Octateuch. Apart from the *Gloss* and the 'Master of the Histories' no other name appears so often. Even Hugh of St. Victor appears only in four places, and in two of these he is connected with his pupil: 'Master Hugh of St. Victor used to say . . . and Andrew, who expounds the Pentateuch literally, holds to it'; 'Andrew of St. Victor says, following Master Hugh. . . .' As one comes to expect in medieval exegesis, acknowledged borrowings are a signpost to others. Langton's glosses contain many unacknowledged quotations from Andrew. Collation shows that some of them have been taken directly from the original, not from the *Histories* or the Chanter's glosses.

Langton and the Chanter read their glosses as lectures in the schools at Paris and circulated them afterwards. The Chanter's were appreciated; Langton's could be described as medieval 'best sellers'. His celebrity as archbishop and champion of ecclesiastical liberties against a tyrant king came to swell his reputation as a scholar. Even had Andrew himself been forgotten, something of his work must have survived. It had gone to the making of the *Histories*; it had been impressed on the prodigious medieval memories of those students who came to the Chanter's and Langton's lectures; it had been circulated in their glosses. Hugh of

¹ *De Tripartito Tabernaculo*, P.L. cxcviii. 635.

² This can be gathered from the extract of the Witham chronicle published by Dom Wilmart, 'Maître Adam,' &c., 7.

St. Cher, the Dominican exegete, quotes Andrew via the *Histories*, the Chanter, and Langton. But his use by these three important scholars seems to have awakened the interest of readers and sent them to 'Andrew in the original'. We find this expression in a very popular aid to study, the *Vocabularium Bibliae*, or dictionary of biblical terms by William Brito, written after 1248 and before 1285. He quotes Andrew on *Mello* and *Ramathaim*: 'Andreas vero quidam expositor. . .' and 'dicit Andreas in *originali* super I Regum . . .'. In *originali* is usually applied to a patristic author; it means his original work as distinct from a collection of extracts like the *Gloss*, or quotations in later writers.¹ It is impressive to find Andrew referred to as though he were an 'authority'. It strengthens our belief in Roger Bacon's complaint about the 'authority' ascribed to him.

Far from being forgotten, he was even better known in the thirteenth century than in the twelfth. Neither the Comestor, the Chanter, nor Langton shows any knowledge of Andrew on the Prophets or Solomon. The Chanter and Langton seem to know the extract published by Richard in the *De Emmanuele*; otherwise they limit themselves to his work on the Octateuch. And yet Hugh of St. Cher quotes Andrew by name on Osee and Ezechiel; the Franciscan Spiritual, Peter John Olivi (*d.* 1298), quotes him on Isaias and Ezechiel as well as on Kings. The anonymous author of a thirteenth-century *correctorium*, a list of amendments to the biblical text, quotes a passage from Andrew on Proverbs with warm approval: 'Andrew, that eminent exponent of the literal sense. . .' As the *correctoria* represent textual criticism of the most scientific kind known to the thirteenth century, it is significant that Andrew should be 'frequently quoted' there.²

He keeps cropping up in marginal notes and glosses to thirteenth-century English manuscripts. A copy of Langton on the Pentateuch, Corpus Christi College Cambridge 55, has 'Andreas contra' written beside the gloss on Gen. i. 2, where Langton differs from Andrew. There are two extracts from his work on Genesis in an early thirteenth-century gloss to the *Histories*, from Christ Church Canterbury, now MS. Trinity College Cambridge 342 (B. 15. 5). Another

¹ On the term *originalia* see G. Paré, &c., *op. cit.* (p. 53, n. 2), 151-2.

² H. Denifle, 'Die Handschr. der Bibelcorrectorien des 13. Jahrh.', in *Archiv f. Lit.- und Kirchengesch. des M.As.* iv (1888), 565 and n. 1.

copy of the *Histories*, which belonged to the convent of the Friars Preachers at Beverley (founded before 1240¹) and is now MS. University College Oxford Auct. II (190), has its margins covered thickly with notes and glosses in various thirteenth-century hands. For the section on the Octateuch hardly a folio is without some extracts from Andrew, taken verbally from his writings; and one of the hands has carefully marked those passages of the *Histories* where the Comestor has used Andrew as his source. Andrew's exposition of Isaias is twice referred to; even the section on the Gospels, *De ortu salvatoris*, has a reference to Andrew on Exodus. The Beverley Dominicans, if it was they who wrote the notes in their manuscript, must have made an intensive study of Andrew both on the Octateuch and on the Prophets. He is quoted nine times in an anonymous gloss on Exodus, copied in a hand of the later thirteenth century in the margin of the *Gloss*, in the MS. Kk. IV.10, University Library Cambridge, fo. 126^r. The original seems to have been written soon after 1226.² The author does not merely transcribe mechanically; he will sometimes comment: 'an argument for what Andrew says on a later text. . .'.³

These last few notes are not the result of long, systematic searches on my part, but of chance and guesswork. It seems that quotations from Andrew are typical in a certain class of manuscript. One begins to understand why all the English copies of Andrew's works which survive (with one exception) belong to about the second quarter of the thirteenth century; that is about a hundred years after the originals were written. It seems that at first he was known to a comparatively small circle and was appreciated more widely as time passed. The serious study of his works in England, to which the manuscripts and Roger Bacon witness, form a background for the biblical scholarship of Robert Grosseteste and the Friars. This, one might add, is the reverse of what happened to Abailard. His theological works, which caused so much excitement at the time, were no longer copied in the later thirteenth century; he was remembered only for his love story.

¹ The first mention of Beverley Priory is in this year when a chapter was held there. *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226-40*, 369. I owe this reference to Fr. Aquinas Hinnebusch.

² See below, p. 173.

³ Fo. 152^v on Exod. xii. 41: 'eadem die egressus: "argumentum pro Andrea qui dicit quod de die exierunt de Egipto, ad id Num: *profecti de Ramesse*"' [Num. xxxiii. 3]. The reference can be verified from Andrew on the same text.

The Dominican scholar, Nicholas Trivet, and the Franciscan, Nicholas of Lyra used Andrew in the early fourteenth century. The Venice manuscript shows that he was still being read in the later fifteenth. Even the post-Tridentine scholars have sometimes appreciated him. His 'portrait' with those of other distinguished Victorines hung in his abbey library in the seventeenth century.¹ Eighteenth-century bibliographers noted his freedom from the common faults of medieval exegesis. 'This is a polished, weighty writer who smacks in nothing of the childish and obscure' is Oudin's comment.² He impressed Dom Brial as outstanding in his period:

'Il en est effectivement peu qui réunissent comme lui la clarté et la précision, qui s'écartent plus rarement de leur objet, et sachent placer plus à propos l'érudition. Il avait la connaissance des langues grecque [?] et hébraïque, avantage peu commun dans son siècle.'³

Within the limits of his chosen subject Andrew's influence corresponded to his master's on theology as a whole. Hugh of St. Victor seemed to his contemporaries like a 'second Augustine'; Andrew was their second Jerome. He played a vital part in forming the Victorine tradition. Historians have missed its full richness by leaving Andrew out of account.

¹ A. Franklin, *Histoire de la bibliothèque de St Victor* (Paris, 1865), 50.

² *Com. de Scrip. Eccles.* ii (Leipzig, 1722), 1268.

³ *Histoire littéraire de la France*, xiii (1814), 409.

CHAPTER V

MAGISTRI SACRAE PAGINAE: THE COMESTOR, THE CHANTER, STEPHEN LANGTON

I. *LECTIO, DISPUTATIO, PRAEDICATIO*

THE Victorines did not alter the monastic conception of *lectio divina*; they restated it, and in doing so they shifted the emphasis. The 'building' of exegesis had been growing top-heavy. Monks had concentrated on the 'upper story' and its 'painting'; scholars on theological questions. The Victorines saved the whole structure by strengthening its basis. Conservative, they went behind St. Gregory and Cassian to the historical tradition of St. Augustine and the learned tradition of St. Jerome. Belonging to their century, they had a strong sacramental sense, which gave them a new devotion to the 'letter' of Scripture. They still thought in metaphors which subordinated the literal sense to the spiritual; but they conceived it as something essentially laborious and creative; it was 'digging the foundation', not 'stripping off the veil' or 'breaking down the prison'. Andrew realized what a delightful occupation digging could be.

The Victorine programme, which Hugh set forth in his *Didascalicon*, and which Andrew and Richard tried to realize in their teaching, made *lectio divina* acceptable to the Paris scholar. The Victorines, being both *claustrales* and *scholares*, were able to transmit the old religious exercise from the cloister to the school. They managed to secure for biblical scholarship a share, even if it were a minor share, in the inquisitive energy which abounded at Paris. This is the subject of the present chapter. We have to follow the Victorine tradition in the hands of the Paris masters, to see how *lectio divina* changes into the academic lecture course.

The masters who made themselves responsible for continuing the Victorine tradition are the trio we met in the last chapter: Peter Comestor, Peter the Chanter, Stephen Langton. Mgr. Grabmann has grouped them together as the 'biblical moral school';¹ they have a common interest in

¹ *Die Gesch. der scholastischen Methode*, ii (Freiburg i. Br., 1911), 476 ff.

biblical studies and in practical moral questions, which distinguishes them from those who were primarily theologians and dialecticians: Peter Lombard, Peter of Poitiers, Adam of the Petit Pont.

The word 'school' brings us on to dangerous ground. Our three masters represent three overlapping generations: the Comestor died about 1169, the Chanter in 1197; Langton, who died in 1228, became a cardinal and left the schools for good in 1206. It would be pleasant to arrange them neatly in order as masters and pupils; but this is not possible. On the latest evidence it seems that Langton may have heard the Comestor, but not the Chanter.¹ The Comestor himself seems to have been a pupil of Peter Lombard.² The Chanter's academic formation is unknown. If, on the other hand, we take 'school' to mean merely a common interest, we are confronted with the difficult border-line case of Peter of Poitiers. He was a pupil of the Lombard, a very subtle dialectician, and yet he made highly important additions to the *Historia Scholastica*. We need a critical edition of the *Historia Scholastica*, a thorough examination of the Comestor's Gospel glosses, and, even more urgently, a study of the central figure, Peter the Chanter, before we can say anything definite about their personal relations to one another, or to other teachers.

The solid reality behind the term 'biblical moral school' seems to me to be this: whereas other Paris masters left glosses on the Psalms and the Pauline Epistles, these three made original contributions to the study of Scripture as a whole, the Comestor in his *Histories* and Gospel glosses, the Chanter and Langton in a vast series of glosses, covering the Old and New Testaments.³ Perhaps the work of other masters in this field remains to be discovered; at least these

¹ 'Studies on the Commentaries', 8.

² R. M. Martin, 'Pierre le Mangeur *De Sacramentis*', in *Spic. Sac. Lov.* xvii (1937), xxv-xxvi.*

³ No comprehensive study of the manuscripts of the Comestor's and the Chanter's glosses exists. F. S. Gutjahr, *Petrus Cantor, sein Leben und seine Schriften* (Graz, 1899), 54, gives a list of the *initia* of the Chanter's glosses without referring to manuscripts. I have therefore used manuscripts of the Comestor and the Chanter noted by B. Hauréau in his *Notices et extraits de quelques mss. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1891-), i-vi *passim*.

The Langton manuscripts have been listed in 'Studies on the Commentaries'. I have made most use of MSS. Peterhouse Cambridge 112, containing Langton on the Octateuch and historical books of the Old Testament, and Trinity College Cambridge B. II. 26 containing Langton on the Twelve Prophets, which will be referred to as P. and T.; the librarians of these two colleges kindly allowed me the use of P. and T. while I was collecting material for my doctoral thesis on Langton's glosses. In choosing copies of the works of all

three were the most widely read and copied. And their inspiration came from the same source, St. Victor. It is often said that the *Historia Scholastica* of Peter Comestor fulfils an express wish of the *Didascalicon* and shows Victorine influence. This also applies to the less well-known glosses of Peter the Chanter and Langton. Langton actually glossed the Bible according to the order of books which Hugh had recommended to students. Hugh taught that the student should begin by acquiring an historical background; fairly early in his teaching career Langton glossed the *Historia Scholastica*. Hugh advised students to read the Gospels and Epistles, where the faith was revealed plainly, in order to learn the allegorical exposition; then they would know how to discern the figures of the Old Testament; Langton glossed the Gospels before he glossed the historical books of the Old Testament and the Prophets. He also extended Hugh's teaching on the order of books to be read by the student of allegory to tropology; he says that the moral teaching of the books of Solomon is plain and easily grasped, but that the Prophets require multiple exposition before they will yield it;¹ accordingly Langton glossed the Canticle, the Psalter, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, probably Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, before he glossed the Prophets. It looks like a carefully thought-out programme, based on a study of the *Didascalicon*. Langton first prepares himself by lecturing on the *Historia Scholastica*, the Gospels, the sapiential books; then he is ready to undertake the literal and spiritual exposition of the historical books; then he glosses the Epistles, and lastly, again in a literal and spiritual sense, the Prophets.² It is

three scholars, as with Andrew of St. Victor, one has to be guided chiefly by convenience; it is not yet possible to pick out the better texts.

For Langton's life and writings see F. M. Powicke, 'Bibliographical Note on Recent Work upon Stephen Langton', *English Historical Review*, xlviii (1933), 554-7.

¹ T. fo. 192^b (on Zach. ix. 17): '*Fru mentum* antequam ex eo panis fiat, teritur, per quod sacre scripture difficultas significatur, cuiusmodi est in prophetis quos multiplici expositione frangi oportet antequam panis tropologie inde conficitur. Unde huiusmodi *frumentum electorum* dicitur esse, quia paucissimi sunt et electi qui per intelligentiam huius frumenti pane vescantur. *Et vinum*; quod delectabiliter bibitur et facile, unde significat sacram scripturam ubi facilis est, scil. ubi tropologia facile legentibus se offert, ut in libris Salomonis.'

² See above, pp. 62-4. Langton knew the *Didascalicon*. He quotes Hugh of St. Victor on Osee ii. 16 (which seems to derive from the *Didascalicon*, v. iii), as though he were quoting from memory in his own words: T. fo. 14^c: 'Dicit magister Hugo sancti Victoris: Tanta est sublimitas sacre pagine super alias disciplinas quod significata aliarum sunt significantia in theologia. Illa enim que sunt res nominum et verborum in aliis facultatibus sunt nomina in theologia.'

possible, of course, that this order had already been worked out by Peter the Chanter. His gloss on Judges certainly refers back to his gloss on the Psalter.¹

Then we have the interest in practical moral problems, and the practical moral purpose, which manifests itself not only in their strictly theological works, but in their use of the spiritual interpretation for the *lectio*. The glosses of the Chanter and Langton bear more resemblance to the works of Hugh and Richard, so it seems to me, than the glosses of other twelfth-century masters do.

Not only the rules and the inspiration, but much of the material comes from St. Victor. All three of our masters quote from Andrew on the Heptateuch. He is at the core of their literal exposition. Moreover the Chanter also uses the *Histories*; Langton uses both the *Histories* and the Chanter's glosses.² In content, at least, the three are linked both to Andrew and to one another.

Lastly one cannot help remarking on their likeness in character. Langton has a quality of greatness which is lacking in the others; but all three are sensible, practical, with a strong sense of humour. The mere fact that one is able to speak of their 'characters' in itself differentiates them from most of the Paris masters, who are much more elusive. The personal note in Langton's glosses and *Quaestiones* has impressed modern scholars. One finds something very similar in the works of the Comestor and the Chanter. Only Langton would think of explaining the text: *Fornication*,

¹ MS. Balliol 23, fo. 140^b (on Iud. xiii. 18): '*Cur quaeris nomen meum, quod est mirabile?*: . . . solet queri super Psalmos quare ineffabile dicatur nomen tetragrammaton cuius IV littere interpretantur principium vite passionis iste, i.e. hic quem representat legalis sacerdos habens laminam auream in fronte in qua scribitur nomen tetragrammaton est principium vite adquisite morte passionis. Solutio est in glosis Psalterii.'

² He quotes the Chanter by name in his gloss on Eccus. vii. 20: '*Noli praevaricari in amicum pecuniam differentem.*' His text differs from the Vulgate; he has *pro pecunia differenti*. MS. Balliol 20, fo. 9^b: 'Cantor sic exponit: *pro pecunia differenti* i.e. *pro pecunia* que facit magnam differentiam inter personas scil. pauperis et divitis . . . nos autem sic exponimus. . . .' See the Chanter's gloss, MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15565, fo. 101^a: '. . . faciente differentiam inter pauperem et divitem etiam in amicitia.' Probably Langton quotes the Chanter by name in this passage because he differs from him. In his gloss in Isaiah he refers several times to *magistri*, and in one case he seems to be quoting from the Chanter: MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 14417, fo. 185^b (on Isa. ix. 1: *Galilaeae gentium*): i.e. *Galilee* populose. 'Sic magistri exponunt, ut dicatur *Galilea gentium* pro numerositate habitatorum.' See the Chanter MS. Maz. 178, fo. 60^d: 'populose *Galilee* que propter numerositatem habitantium dicitur *gentium*.' Normally Langton does not refer to the Chanter at all but simply reproduces him: for an example of this, see p. 192, n. 6.

wine and drunkenness take away the heart [Osee iv. 11] by a snatch of song, where the world complains that love has stolen her heart:

Unde et mundus in cantilena vulgari:

Domine Deus! quis meum cor furatus est?¹

Only the Comestor would compare the silence of the Church during the reading of the Gospel, where promises are fulfilled, to the silence of children clutching their promised apples.² The Chanter's glosses are often as amusing as his better known *Verbum Abbreviatum*. It may be that their interest in concrete things, in history, the liturgy, their fellow creatures, makes them more living to us than those whose preoccupations were mainly abstract. However we may explain it, they have in common a humanism that recalls the Victorines.

It is a humanism of thought, not of style. We have lost that sense of leisure which pleases us in the Victorine writings. The works of the Paris masters are meant not for quiet study in the cloister, but to prepare students for the examination which begins to loom on their horizon like a Judgement Day. On the one hand we have business-like text-books and aids to study; the *Historia Scholastica* takes its place as a 'set book' besides the *Gloss* and the *Sentences*; the Chanter published a Gospel harmony, the *Unum ex Quattuor*; a list of spiritual interpretations, the *Summa Abel*; and the *De Difficultatibus Sacre Scripture*, or *De Tropis Loquendi*, a technical study dealing mainly with language and grammar, for instance the various uses of the conjunctive *et*. On the other hand we have their glosses, which have come down to us in the most unliterary form conceivable, their students' lecture notes. We must say something of this *reportatio* system, since we depend on it entirely for our knowledge of their exegesis.

The medieval *reportatio* is distinct from the ancient stenography and shorthand which was used in the dictation of many patristic works. This method is said to have lapsed by the eleventh century when the Latin, on which the abbreviations were based, had ceased to be spoken outside learned circles.³ It is also distinct from the practice of taking notes at lectures, which must be almost as old as the lecture itself.

¹ T. fo. 23^a.

² See below, pp. 196-7.

³ L. P. Guénin, *Histoire de la sténographie dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge* (Paris, 1908).

St. Gregory's *Moralia* were partly taken down from his lectures, partly dictated, when he had more time at his disposal. He was careful to revise the former portions so that the style should be uniform.¹ His pupil, Claudius, undertook the task of writing up his notes of some other homilies during Gregory's illness. He called his first edition of St. Gregory on the Canticles: *Expositio in Canticis Canticorum a capite de exceda relevata Domni Gregorii Papae Urbis Romae*, which has been translated 'commentaire complètement rétabli d'après les notes', the *scheda* being the leaf on which the notes were written. He, too, was careful to reproduce his master's literary style.² This system proved to be unsatisfactory, since too much scope was given to the pupil; St. Gregory recalled these particular homilies from circulation as doctrinally incorrect. Angelom of Luxueil in the mid-ninth century seems to be doing much the same as Claudius, but under proper supervision. He tells us that his commentary on Genesis began from his notes of his master's teaching, which his master helped him to expand and afterwards approved.³

Whether the commentary is dictated to a stenographer or written up from lecture notes, in each case the finished work is a literary production. The *reportatio* on the contrary has no pretensions to be literature. It is a product of the classroom, arising directly from the needs of the student, and is a cross between the two earlier methods, dictation and writing up notes. The 'reporter' is not a professional stenographer but a pupil, who instead of merely taking notes, tries to get down a full, consecutive account of the lecture. His report will be copied without re-composition, though it may need correction and the filling in of references.

We do not know whether reporting began, or was continued, at the school of Laon. We only hear that Master Anselm's disciples 'collected sentences' from his oral teaching,⁴ which suggests something haphazard and unstereotyped. Our first detailed description of a *reportatio* comes from St. Victor; and one's impression is that Hugh's pupils thought they were inventing a new and time-saving device. A student called Laurence published a treatise which seems

¹ *P.L.* lxxv. 512-13.

² *Ibid.* lxxvii. 1234. See B. Capelle, 'Les Homélies de St Grégoire sur le Cantique', *Rev. Bén.* xli (1929), 204-17.

³ *P.L.* cxv. 108-10.

⁴ See above, p. 46. Dr. K. Schleyer tells me that he has found other instances of *colligere* as used at Laon in this sense.

to be an earlier version of Hugh's *De Sacramentis*, with a prefatory letter to his friend Maurice, explaining how his companions asked him to 'commend' Hugh's teaching 'to writing and memory, for the common use of myself and others'; once a week he brought his tablets for correction to Master Hugh. Laurence does not profess to be the 'author' of the work; but in some sense he has 'contrived' it.¹

Then we find the *reportatio* as an established university practice as it remains in some places to-day: 'the lectures or their *reportationes* for which the *clericus* or, later, the bachelor, of the master may have been especially responsible, were copied and distributed'.² University statutes oblige the master to correct the report personally before it is published.³ We still know only the outlines of the process; was there a system of shorthand, which enabled the reporter to take down the whole lecture, or did he or the master fill in the quotations later from references? It is difficult to explain the relative accuracy of quotations from Andrew, for instance, by the Chanter and Langton. It has been suggested that the blank spaces in another twelfth-century gloss represent gaps in the report; the hurried reporter had intended to fill in his omissions afterwards and never did.⁴ A copy of the report of a thirteenth-century Oxford *quaestio disputata* regularly leaves a blank for the references to the works of Aristotle which are quoted. Probably when the fair copy of the report was made the scribe had instructions to omit the references until they had been verified.⁵

From its very nature the report can have no pretensions to literary quality. One distinguishes it by its ragged, colloquial style and by its allusions to the master in the third person. Sometimes, too, the reporter intrudes himself, to

¹ Ed. B. Bischoff, *op. cit.* (p. 58, n. 5), 250: '... rogatus sum a plerisque sociorum . . . quatenus ad communem tam mei quam aliorum utilitatem easdem sententias scripto et memorie commendarem. . . . Semel in septimana ad magistrum Hugonem tabellas reportabam. . . . Non enim me huius operis auctorem sed quodammodo artificem profiteor.'

² Rashdall's *Medieval Universities*, ed. Powicke and Emden, i (Oxford, 1936), 490. A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians* (Oxford, 1934), *passim*.

³ See the most recent discussion of reports in the law schools by H. Kantorowicz, 'The *Quaestiones Disputatae* of the Glossators', *Revue d'Histoire du Droit*, xvi (1937), 32-51. He gives a bibliography of the literature on both legal and theological reports.

⁴ A. Landgraf, 'Écrits théologiques de l'école d'Abélard', *op. cit.* (p. 55, n. 3), xxxvi.

⁵ In MS. Basle B. VII. 9. I am very much obliged to Fr. Daniel Callus for showing me his photographs of this *reportatio*.

comment, disagree, or complain (but this is in the law schools) that the rowdiness of his fellow students prevents him from reporting properly. Reporting was skilled work. We know that St. Thomas Aquinas found it hard to replace Friar Reginald of Piperno, who was a particularly reliable reporter, when his services were no longer available. It has been suggested that the regular alternation between personal redactions and *reportationes* in St. Thomas's lectures on Scripture was due to the need to economize his reporters' strength.¹

The other students did not always rely on their one official reporter, but sometimes took notes themselves. Eccleston tells the story of an Oxford student who, when his master was lecturing or disputing, always attended to other things than the lecture, namely the compilation of *originalia*, a word which normally describes extracts from the Fathers. Eccleston implies that this inattentive student missed the notes he had not taken, when later, as a master, he lectured himself and found his students so unheeding that he used to close his book as gladly as he had begun.² We get another hint of a number of private *reportationes* of the same lecture course in a request of some students to the Oxford friar, Richard of Cornwall; they beg that: 'the writings, which in the zealous charge of brother Richard they have taken down from him with their own hands, may be granted them severally for their own use, for the private as well as the greater common good'.³

Hence, in rare cases, the same work has come down to us in several *reportationes*. Alongside the official *reportatio*, corrected and approved by the master, we have a private one, with a smaller circulation, which may be characterized by the university authorities as defective or bad; this has

¹ P. Mandonnet, 'La Chronologie des écrits scripturaires de St Thomas d'Aquin', *Revue Thomiste*, N.S. xi (1928), 42.

² *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, xi, ed. A. G. Little (Paris, 1909), 39: 'Quidam lector egregius, qui mecum studuit Oxoniae, consuevit semper in scholis, magistro legente vel disputante, intendere aliis quam lectioni, utpote compilationi originalium. Et ecce cum ipse factus fuisset lector, ita facti sunt ei indevoti auditores sui, ut diceret, quod ita libenter clauderet cotidie librum suum et recederet, sicut legeret; et compunctus ait, "Justo Dei iudicio nullus vult audire me quia ego nunquam volui aliquem doctorem audire".'

³ *Adae de Marisco, Ep. cxcii*, ed. J. S. Brewer, *Mon. Franc.* (Rolls Series), i. 349: 'Plures, ut audio, reperientur opportuni ad nunc dictum fratris obsequium, si scripturae quas ex studiosa prae-fati fratris R. vigilantia manibus suis conscripserint, singulis suae concedantur in usus utilitatis privatae, tam ad communitatis profectum ampliorem.' Dr. Little kindly gave me this reference.

happened to certain *Quaestiones* of Duns Scot.¹ There are also two distinct *reportationes* of the university sermons preached by St. Bonaventure at Paris between Easter and Whitsuntide in 1273. One of them is fuller and survives in more manuscripts than the other; this second, shorter *reportatio* ends with an interesting statement by the reporter telling us how he worked. He took down the sermons in his notebook, just as he could snatch them from the speaker's mouth. Two colleagues were taking notes with him, but theirs were so confused and illegible as to be useless to anyone but themselves. His exemplar was corrected, since it was legible, by some of the audience; St. Bonaventure himself and many others are indebted to him for the copies they took of it. Then, after many days, when his superior gave him time and opportunity, he revised his hasty notes, and tried to put them in order, calling memories of the speaker's voice and gestures to his aid. He added nothing to what St. Bonaventure had said, except to amplify his quotations from the logical works of Aristotle and references to other authorities.

It seems probable that this shorter *reportatio* was a private one, and that the two other reporters whom it mentions prepared the official version between them, perhaps consulting their colleague's notes.² If the two *reportationes* are collated, allowing for the reporters' additions, they give exactly the impression that one would expect from two sets of notes of the same lecture; they express the same idea in different words, and that which is normally shorter will

¹ A. Pelzer, 'Le premier livre de *reportata Parisiensia* de Duns Scotus', *Annales de l'Institut Supérieur de Philosophie*, v (Louvain, 1924), 454. I have taken Mgr Pelzer's definition of a *reportatio* and applied it to the Langton glosses.

² 'S. Bonaventurae Collationes in Hexaëmeron', ed. F. Delorme, *Bibliotheca Franciscana*, viii (Quaracchi, 1934), 275.

'Haec autem, quae de quatuor visionibus notavi, talia sunt qualia de ore loquentis rapere potui in quaternum. Alii quidam duo socii mecum notabant, sed eorum notulae prae nimia confusione et illegibilitate nulli fuerunt utiles nisi forte sibi. Correcto autem exemplari meo quod legi poterat ab auditorum aliquibus, ipse doctor operis de ipso meo exemplari et quamplures alii rescriperunt, qui pro eo mihi debent grates.

'Elapsis autem diebus multis, concedente mihi copiam temporis et libri reverendo patre fratre Ch[unrado], ministro Alamaniae Superioris, rursum respexi quae scripseram veloci manu et nisus sum recolligere ordinate, co-operante mihi memoriae quo loquentis vocem audieram auditu et visu quo recordabar gestuum loquentis.

'... Nec tamen apposui quidquam quod ipse non dixerat, nisi ubi distinctionem librorum Aristotelis logicalium amplius quam ipse dixerat, distinxī. Alia autem non apposui, nisi quod etiam loca auctoritatum aliquarum signavi.'

See Fr. Delorme's comments, x-xvi. The longer and probably official *reportatio* is published in *S. Bonaventurae Opera Omnia*, v (Quaracchi), 329-454.

occasionally be fuller than the longer one. We have a parallel from the English common law, in the various reports of the same case in the earlier Year Books.¹

Reportationes of the thirteenth century help us to identify those of the lesser known twelfth. The glosses of the Comestor and the Chanter that I have examined are easily recognizable as *reportationes*. They contain expressions such as *inquit*,² *dicit magister*,³ *his addit magister*,⁴ *magister his non acquiescit*,⁵ where 'master' cannot refer to anyone but the lecturer. Sometimes he is referred to in the first person, and sometimes in the same sentence we have a combination of first and third: 'I don't remember, he says, to have read this anywhere but in the *Gloss* on this text.'⁶

So far, only one *reportatio* for each gloss by the Comestor and the Chanter is known, though a thorough search might produce others. It is different with Langton. When we began to sort out the vast collection of Langton manuscripts, we found that each gloss existed in two, or more often three versions.⁷ These were so unlike one another that the most careless copying could not explain their divergences. It was impossible that they could have come from one original. When we put the variant versions in parallel columns we found just the same relationship which has since been shown to exist between the two *reportationes* of St. Bonaventure. We found that each version made the same points, and contained the same quotations; but they used slightly different words; one would merely allude to a point which was developed in the others; a version which in most places was briefer, would be more expansive than the others in a few places.

¹ G. J. Turner, *Introd. to Year Book 4 Ed. II, Selden Soc.* xix (London, 1914), xvii.

² The Comestor, MS. Laud Misc. 291, fo. 3^c. The Chanter, MS. Brussels 252, ff. 36^v, 70^v; MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15565, ff. 126^c, 107^a.

³ The Chanter, MS. Balliol 23, fo. 89^b.

⁴ *Ibid.*, fo. 139^c.

⁵ The Chanter, MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15565, fo. 34^b.

⁶ *Ibid.*, MS. Brussels 252, fo. 70^v: 'quod non memini, inquit, me legisse nisi in glosis hic.' We find the same combination of first and third person in the report of the disputations of Simon of Tournai, who taught at Paris in the last third of the twelfth century: J. Warichez, *op. cit.* (p. 41, n. 2), xiii, xlv. The reporters of the *lectiones* are naturally more self-effacing than the reporters of *disputationes*. They do not intrude themselves, or comment on the master's views.

⁷ 'Studies on the Commentaries', 166-82. In this paper I was only able to classify the versions of Langton's glosses on the historical books of the Old Testament. My classification of his glosses on other books of the Old Testament, which has not been printed, shows that the same problem exists for them too.

In fact, they produced the effect of three *reportationes* of the same lecture. It seemed that only by collating them could one get the gist of what the lecturer had originally said.

In each group, one version exists in a greater number of copies than the others. The most popular of Langton's glosses, on the Twelve Prophets, has three versions: A, B, C; we have found twenty-four copies of A, as against only six of B and three of C. Rubrics in manuscripts containing the A version prove that the gloss was originally read in the schools; we have 'Expositio Magistri Stephani de longa tona super XII Prophetes sicut ipse legit Parisius'; 'Glose Magistri Stephani . . . in scolis ab eo lecte'; 'Tropologia super Duodecim Prophetas collecta ad lectiones Magistri Stephani de Langeton'.¹ All three versions have the unfinished, informal wording of reports; and the C version contains a reference to the master in the third person, clearly meaning Langton.² The A version seems to be the fullest and most carefully prepared of the three. The glosses on the Twelve Prophets are typical of the other groups.

¹ MS. Troyes 1004, fo. 119^r; MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 505, fo. 1^r; MS. Oriel Coll. Oxford 53, fo. 88^r; T. fo. 1^r.

² It occurs in the commentary on Zach. xii. 2: 'Behold I will make Jerusalem a lintel of surfeiting to all the people round about: and Juda also shall be in the siege against Jerusalem.' St. Jerome explains this passage as a threat to the enemies of the Church. They shall be surfeited with the divine wrath. 'Juda' represents those Christians who turned against the Church during the time of her persecution. Langton adapts St. Jerome's allegory to his own day. By 'Juda' he understands wicked clerks. The three versions run as follows:

A (T. fo. 197^b): 'Ecce ego ponam Ierusalem id est ecclesiam superliminare crapule active in tantum ut qui persecuntur illam inebriantur calice ire Dei. Unde dicitur in Trenis: "Gaude et letare filia Edom. . . ." [Lament. iv. 20] quasi diceret: Inebriaberis calice pene gehennalis et nudaberis quia peccata tua humano generi deteguntur. Et hoc fiet in omnibus populis in circuitu, qui ecclesiam circumeuntes hostiliter eam persecuntur. Sed et Iuda scil. clerici, erit in obsidionem contra Ierusalem; quod hodie fit manifeste quia clerici magis quam laici ecclesiam persecuntur. . . .'

B (Bibl. Nat. 17281, fo. 79^a): 'Ecce ego ponam . . . crapule. Qui tangunt Ierusalem inebriabuntur ira Domini in inferno. Unde Ieremias in Trenis: "Letare filia Edom. . . ." Sed et Iuda. . . . Ierusalem. Hoc potest dici de clericis qui opprimunt alios et iudicant contra ecclesiam. . . .'

C (Troyes 1004, fo. 209^r; Durham A. 1. 7, fo. 203^d): 'Ecce ego ponam etc. Magister [Durham has an ñ here, possibly for *noster*] istud intelligit moraliter ad uoluntatem suam. Unde iuxta glosam dicit quod comminatur hostibus ecclesie quod si [qui semper] perseveraverint in persecutione ecclesie, ruent in infernum, ibique habundantia pene inebriabuntur et opprimuntur. Unde Ieremias: "gaude et letare. . . ." Et Iuda etc. hoc adimpletur quando clerici impugnant ecclesiam. . . .'

We must understand *magister* to mean Langton; if any other authority were meant, at least one of the other versions would be likely to have a reference to him. We may translate: 'Our master gives a free interpretation of the passage. In accordance with the *Gloss* he says it is a threat to the enemies of the

The most natural explanation of these variations is that in each group of glosses the more widely diffused version originated in an official report, approved by Langton, while the versions which survive in only a few copies originated as private, unauthorized reports with a restricted circulation.

However we may explain them, the variant versions are a chastening reminder of how little we really know. When we put several versions together and see what different shades of meaning they give us, we begin to realize the inadequacy of a *reportatio*, at least at this early stage of its development. It always leaves one with a sense of something missing, and sometimes with a feeling of suspicion. None of our three masters' reporters have obtruded themselves at all obviously; and yet, without a very minute scrutiny, it would be unsafe to say that they have added nothing of their own.

But the *reportatio* has a special kind of attractiveness. It takes us straight into the Paris class-room where it was made. The very walls and benches rise before us when Langton explains how Samuel went to Bethlehem to anoint David on the pretext that his purpose was *to sacrifice to the Lord* [1 Kings xvi. 2] by comparing Samuel to his students:

'This was not Samuel's primary object in coming; it is an unusual way of speaking. Your reply to the question: "why do you come to the schools?" would not be: "I come to sit down and look at the walls"; and yet that is what you do.'

It is an intimate gathering. The master has 'a moral disciplinary authority of a paternal character' over his pupils. He should pray for them, Langton says, and ask for their prayers in return.¹ Langton stresses the association between them in his first lecture on the Twelve Prophets. His opening text has been: *May the bones of the twelve prophets spring up out of their place* [Ecclus. xlix. 12]; so he continues:

'Desiring then, that these bones should spring up in my tongue, in my mind and in your minds, in my works and in your works, I have taken up the book of the Twelve Prophets to lecture on.'²

The difference in intellectual development between master and pupils was less marked than we are accustomed to, Church. . . . The sequel shows that Langton keeps to the *Gloss* for the first part and gives an independent explanation of the second part of the sentence.

¹ See 'Studies on the Commentaries', 165, for both references.

² MS. Rawl. C. 427, fo. 69^a: 'Volens igitur predicta ossa pullulare in lingua mea et vestra, in mente mea et vestra, in opere meo et vestro, librum XII prophetarum legendum assumpsit.'

especially among the theologians, since the students had already spent years over the arts course and had perhaps taught as masters of arts before becoming students of theology. We must realize, too, the sense of election which united the small group of *litterati*, who had devoted themselves to the 'queen of sciences', as they gathered round the sacred page where all the secrets of this science were concealed. We must add the sense of responsibility which lay on the future prelates of Europe; for the schools were a path to preferment. We shall find Langton trying to sharpen their sense of responsibility, and warning them against pride.

It follows that the students were less passive listeners and reporters than those who attend modern university courses. Peter the Chanter, in his famous description of the lecture, connects it with two active exercises, disputation and preaching:

'The practice of Bible study consists in three things: reading (*lectione*), disputation, preaching. . . . Reading is, as it were, the foundation and basement for what follows, for through it the rest is achieved. Disputation is the wall in this building of study, for nothing is fully understood or faithfully preached, if it is not first chewed by the tooth of disputation. Preaching, which is supported by the former, is the roof, sheltering the faithful from the heat and wind of temptation. We should preach after, not before, the reading of Holy Scripture and the investigation of doubtful matters by disputation.'¹

Here we have the three academic functions: lecture, disputation, university sermon. The Chanter seems to treat them as distinct and separate. This certainly held good of the university sermon,² and 'the origin of the fully developed disputation can be traced back at least to the end of the twelfth century'.³ But if we look through twelfth-century glosses we shall find it very difficult to distinguish between the *lectio* and the other two exercises. It has been stated that the *Summa super Psalterium* by Prepositinus of Cremona was

¹ *Verbum Abbreviatum*, P.L. ccv. 25.

² See M. M. Davy, *Les Sermons Universitaires Parisiens de 1230-31* (Paris, 1931).

³ Little and Pelster, op. cit. (p. 162, n. 2), 29: 'the disputation as practised in the thirteenth century is a discussion of a scientific question between two or more disputants, of whom one undertakes the rôle of defender of a particular opinion, while the other or others raise objections and difficulties against this opinion. . . . While in the case of the questions about the middle of the twelfth century it cannot be definitely decided whether they are disputations in the strict sense, we possess from the time about the turn of the century a goodly number of questions of Prepositinus, Stephen Langton, and Simon of Tournai' which can be described as disputations.

'preached, or at least written in order to be preached', and that the same applies to two other *Distinctiones super Psalterium*, by the Chanter and Peter of Poitiers.¹ The latter work contains a solitary 'dearly beloved!' which suggests an address to a congregation.² The Chanter's work on the Psalter, however, strikes me as similar in kind to his other glosses, which were normal lectures. In any case, the parts devoted to spiritual exposition in the glosses of our three masters resemble homilies; and we now have proof that the famous English preacher, Odo of Cheriton, drew largely on Langton's glosses for his material.³ The line between *lectio* and *praedicatio* is thinly drawn.

Even more difficult to disentangle is the relationship between *lectio* and *disputatio*. Whole sections of Langton's glosses on the Pauline Epistles reappear in his collected theological *Quaestiones*, which presumably represent his disputations.⁴ We are told that the disputation actually grew up within the framework of the lecture: the text and its glosses presented difficulties which master and pupils discussed at length; later, when lectures were given on the *Sentences*, the disputation was organized separately in connexion with this book; then the lecturer on Scripture was relieved of his burden; theological questions were no longer his subject; he was able to go straight through his text without digressing. After this change in the syllabus, questions in the lecture are short and arise directly from the text.⁵ Probably this is not a complete description of the origin and development of the disputation, which may well have been more complex.⁶ Nevertheless it throws some light on the questions in the glosses of our three masters. They do seem to illustrate successive stages in the 'splitting off' of the disputation from the parent *lectio*.

¹ G. Lacombe, 'La Vie et les Œuvres de Prévostin' (*Bibliothèque Thomiste*, xi, Le Saulchoir, 1927), 120-1.

² P. S. Moore, *The Works of Peter of Poitiers* (Catholic University of America, 1936), 82, n. 12.

³ This has been established by Dr. A. Friend in his unpublished thesis on Odo of Cheriton.

⁴ G. Lacombe and A. Landgraf, 'The Questiones of Cardinal Stephen Langton, no. III', *New Scholasticism*, iv (1930), 159 ff.

⁵ P. Mandonnet, *S. Thomae Aquinatis Quaestiones disputatae*, i (Paris, 1925), 1-12. R. M. Martin, 'Œuvres de Robert de Melun', op. cit. (p. 51, n. 1), I, xxxiv-xlvi.

⁶ A. Landgraf, 'Quelques collections de "Quaestiones" de la seconde moitié du XII^e siècle', *Rech. de Théol. anc. méd.* vii (1935), 122-6, shows that: 'la quaestio ne naissait donc pas exclusivement en union avec la *lectio*.'

The process was certainly almost complete by Langton's time. That it was not quite complete is shown by the inclusion of questions from his glosses on the Apostle in his *Quaestiones*, which suggests that the *disputatio* took place at the end of the *lectio*, and dealt with problems arising from it. But all our efforts to find identical passages in the *Quaestiones* and Langton's glosses on other books have failed. In his other glosses the questions, though not always 'brief', almost always arise directly from the text and the *Gloss*; they are discussed as problems of exegesis, not as general problems. For instance, in expounding Jonas, he deals with the classic question whether the prophet 'lied' in foretelling the destruction of Nineve, which did not take place. Here he considers the problem in connexion with the *Gloss*. In his *Quaestiones* he deals with the question of prophecy in general, the case of Jonas being discussed from a different point of view. In his glosses on Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus, which we know came early in his teaching career, he will sometimes touch on theological questions and suddenly break off:

'This, and this kind of thing, I leave to [the?] disputation.'

'Of this in [the?] disputation.'

'Concerning this: question.'

'But these expressions belong to the disputation rather than the lecture.'¹

We find the equivalent to these expressions frequently in the biblical commentaries of Langton's contemporary, Alexander Nequam, and once in an anonymous Priscian gloss of the later twelfth century, when the master raises a theological point:

'But let these things be discussed in disputation.'²

So also Hugh of St. Cher:

'But these things are discussed better in disputation'; and we find almost the same words in the exposition of Isaias by Friar Thomas Doking, a pupil of Roger Bacon:

'... there are other reasons . . ., which we pass by for the present, lest we should seem to dispute rather than lecture.'³

¹ MS. Arsenal 64, fo. 140^b: 'hoc et huiusmodi disputationi relinquo'; fo. 155^a: 'de hoc in disputatione'; fo. 155^b: 'de hoc questio.' MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 384, fo. 180^c: 'Ista tamen verba potius sunt disputationis quam lectionis.'

² I have to thank Mr. R. W. Hunt for these two references.

³ MS. Balliol 29, fo. 179^v: '... sunt et alie rationes . . . quibus ad presens ne magis disputare videamur quam legere, supersedemus. . . .' Quoted by A. G. Little, 'Thomas Doking and his Relations to Roger Bacon' in *Essays presented to R. L. Poole*, ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1927), 319.

At Paris in the mid-thirteenth, and at Oxford in the second half of the thirteenth century, we know that the disputation was separate from the lecture; so it seems only reasonable to give the same meaning to the expression when it is used by Langton or Nequam.

In the gloss on Tobias, which belongs to a later group than that on the sapiential books, Langton refers definitely to the disputation as a separate exercise. The *Gloss* on Tob. ii. 14 raises the controversial topic of 'servile fear'; Langton quotes it and brings out its implication: according to the *Gloss* it is mercenary and wicked to refrain from sin for the sake of reward; it follows then that servile fear, by which a man refrains from sin through fear of punishment, is paralleled by servile *love*, by which he refrains from sin through hope of reward: 'as this place has it and is very noteworthy in disputation concerning servile fear'.¹ Langton seems to be drawing his pupils' attention to a point which will be useful to them in disputation. It does not concern him any further as a lecturer, and he promptly passes on.

Then, in his gloss on the Minor Prophets, which belongs to about 1200, he distinguishes between the two exercises as sharply as possible by saying that a certain point is not to be conceded in lectures though it may be in disputation,² a contrast often noted by masters later in the century.

The Comestor and the Chanter represent an earlier, less differentiated state of *lectio* and *disputatio*. They do not limit themselves to questions relevant to the text and the *Gloss*, as Langton does, but discuss much more general topics, suggested by the *Gloss*, but going far beyond it. One illustra-

¹ P., fo. 156^a: 'Nota glosam marginalem: mali non nisi servili timore Deo serviunt; mercenarii mercedem querunt; ideo beatitudinem que ipse est Deus nunquam recipiunt. Secundum hanc glosam mali sunt mercenarii si abstinēt a peccato amore premii; ergo sicut timor quidam est servilis quo cessatur a malo timore pene, sic est quidam amor servilis [quo cessatur] a peccato amore mercedis eterne, et hoc locus habet valde notabile [est] ubi disputatur de timore servili.' [Collated with MS. C.C.C. Cambridge 55, fo. 209^v.] Unfortunately Langton's collected *Quæstiones* contain no question on servile fear, the nearest approach to it being *de timore initiali*; so we do not know whether he was in the habit of using the *Gloss* on this text in his own disputations.

² MS. Maz. 177, fo. 92^d (on Osee ii. 16): 'Glosa: Etsi recte posset dici quod propter similitudinem nominis ydoli debet vitari. Hinc est quod quidam in nullo sensu hanc concedunt: Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus sunt tres omnipotentes. Ad hoc etiam inducit illam partem glose Ieronimi. Ex hoc habemus ex solis vocibus inordinate prolatis heresim posse incurri. Dicimus quod hoc intelligitur de vocibus prophane novitatis, nec est concedendum in lectionibus sunt tres omnipotentes, sed in disputatione potest concedi ut omnipotens teneatur adiective.'

tion from the Chanter will show how he gets drawn away from his text on to the kind of topical problem that specially attracts him. He starts from Josue's command to *lay an ambush* (Jos. viii. 4) and the gloss quoted from St. Augustine. Here it is asked whether deceit in warfare is legitimate; St. Augustine replies that if the war itself be a just one, the use of ambushes does not make it less so; a war is just when the belligerent acts as an instrument of God's justice, not as himself the author of the war. The Chanter inquires what this means in practice. He decides that a people can only make a war without incurring guilt if they first have recourse to arbitration and get a decision in their favour; then the judge is the author of the war. The Chanter is thinking of the obligation of vassals to seek justice in the court of their feudal superior. But suppose that the belligerents are equals, having no superior, like the King of France and the Emperor; then they incur war guilt. They ought to have submitted their claims to the Papacy as the greater power. As a good Frenchman, the Chanter will not allow the feudal superiority of the Holy Roman Emperor; evidently there was no German in the class to contradict him.¹

This example shows a simple form of question. The question is asked, solved by authority, and an application is drawn. Sometimes the argument is much more involved, and use is made of dialectic. It is difficult to know whether these questions can be called 'disputations'; we do not know if the students took part, whether they were encouraged to ask questions or to raise objections to the master's solution. A careful study of the Chanter's glosses would be informing on this point. Langton's glosses give me the impression that the talking was almost all done by Langton; though I like to think that a student is asking: 'What is the moon made of?' and getting: 'Holy writ does not say; neither do we', as his reply.²

The great difficulty of generalizing on the subject of the *quaestio* is illustrated by the anonymous gloss: *Fecit Belsebel*

¹ MS. Balliol 23, fo. 119^d: 'Iusta bella diffiniri solent que ulciscuntur iniurias, si gens vel civitas que bello petenda est vel vindicare neglexerit quod a suis iniuste factum est, vel reddere quod per iniurias ablatum est. Sed hoc genus belli iustum est quod Deus imperat, apud quem non est iniquitas, in quo bello duxor exercitus vel populus non tam auctor belli quam minister iudicandus est. Inde est, ut dicit magister, quod ubi iudice auctore fit bellum, non est periculum. Sed si pares non habentes superiores, ut rex Francorum et imperator bellent, periculum est. Ad papam enim recurrendum esset, ut ad maiorem.'

² P., fo. 3^c: 'Item queritur qua materia facta est luna. Non dicitur in sacra pagina, nec nos dicimus.'

[Beseleel] in *introitu tabernaculi tentorium*, copied into the margins of the *Gloss* on Exodus in MS. University Library Cambridge Kk. IV. 10, in a hand of the later thirteenth century. This belongs, at least in spirit, to the 'biblical moral school'. Andrew is the only modern master quoted by name;¹ the moral interpretation concentrates on the 'prelates and subjects' theme preferred by Langton; the questions deal mainly with liturgical and practical points: the ordeal by water (apropos of Moses in the bulrushes); the reservation of the Host; whether a starving man is entitled to steal; whether a man is bound to enter religion at the bidding of his parents; the rights of archbishops and bishops outside their own provinces and dioceses.² In subject-matter these questions resemble those of the Chanter's rather than of Stephen Langton's glosses, since they have no relevance to exegesis. In form, however, they resemble Langton's collected *Quaestiones*; the argument is developed and supported by an array of authorities; one problem leads on to another and the terms used—*concedimus*; *credo*; *expresse dico*—suggest some kind of disputation. The author refers to the Albigensian Crusade in the past tense, and therefore must have been working after 1226, though probably not long after, since the lawfulness of slaying heretics, and in what conditions, is one of his main preoccupations.³ Hence, if he is working at Paris, he represents a lapse or reaction back to the undifferentiated type of gloss from which Langton had freed himself. For the sake of clarity and neatness one would like to place him in some smaller school, preferably Oxford, where the differentiation had not yet taken effect.⁴ Perhaps in time other copies of his gloss may appear which will allow one to do so.

¹ See above, p. 154.

² ff. 129^r; 149^v; 172^v; 174^v; 179^v.

³ fo. 146^v: '... per hoc patet quod non peccabant in terra Albigensium qui simul Christianos cum Albigensibus occidebant, quod concedimus, cum iam esset eis signatum quod recederent ab eis ne invenirentur cum illis.' Fo. 174^v (on Exod. xx. 13): 'Heretici dicunt quod non debemus eos occidere. ... Habito quod liceat occidere hereticum queritur utrum quilibet sua auctoritate sine iudicio possit eum occidere. ... Solutio: non occidetur nisi mediante iudicio. ... Si vero exierit lex dat propinquo potestatem occidendi.'

⁴ It has been suggested to me that this gloss may be connected with Grosseteste and his school at Oxford. Roger Bacon, regretting the old system by which questions were discussed in lectures on Scripture, says that Robert Grosseteste and Adam Marsh did not lecture on the *Sentences* but only on the sacred text: *Opus Minus*, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), 329. Thomas Gascoigne refers to a hitherto unknown work by Grosseteste on the Pauline Epistles, written (like this gloss on Exodus) in the margins of the *Gloss*; see W. A. Pronger, 'Thomas Gascoigne', *English Historical Review*, liv (1939), 21.

Some account of the form taken by *lectio* has been essential, if we are to compare the exegesis of the 'biblical moral school' with that of Andrew. We have to make allowance for the all-embracing character of *lectio*. The master is lecturing on the text and its *Gloss*; but this leads to questions which may be only slenderly connected with either. He is also giving his pupils a moral training, and preparing them for the task of preaching to clergy and people. He is fitting them both for their academic career and for the ecclesiastical dignities which may be in store when their studies are over:

'... l'étude de la théologie se faisait en vue de la profession ecclésiastique et devait se conformer aux exigences de cette profession.'¹

The glosses bear out this observation. They show how the master divides his attention equally between his text and his pupils; he has to think of them and their needs. He cannot concentrate as fiercely as Andrew. We must see how the Victorine tradition fares within this new academic framework.

II. THE LITERAL EXPOSITION

The greatest triumph for the Victorine tradition was the success of the *Histories*. Langton puts their author on the same level as the author of the theological classic, the *Sentences*; both are of the fellowship of Wisdom, Langton says:

'Blessed is the man . . . that lodgeth near her house and fasteneth a pin in her walls [Ecclus. xiv. 22-5] as they do who hand down some writing on Scripture, the Manducator who compiled the *Histories*, the Lombard who established [*statuit*] the *Sentences*.'²

The *Histories* received some useful additions. Peter of Poitiers, probably, completed the Comestor's text, which ended with the Gospels, by a compendium of Acts.³ It was certainly Peter who wrote the *Compendium Historiae in Genealogia Christi*, 'the *Genealogy*' as Langton calls it,⁴ which in many manuscripts is prefixed to the *Histories*. This is

¹ S. d'Irsay, *Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours*, i (Paris, 1933), 70.

² P., fo. 17^a.

³ P. S. Moore, op. cit. (p. 169, n. 2), 118-22.

⁴ P., fo. 74^a. Langton quotes: 'sicut evidenter patet in Genealogia magistri Petri Pictaviensis.' On the whole subject of the *Genealogia* see P. S. Moore, 96-117; I quote his description of it.

'an abridgement of biblical history, given in the form of a genealogical tree of Christ. Beginning with Adam, the persons who formed the line of succession are enumerated in order. To each person is allotted a short biographical notice in the text, while in the margin are found their names enclosed in double circles. Sometimes crude drawings replace the names. Names and drawings are arranged in such a way that the line of succession from one person to another is shown. The work contains also biographical notices on some biblical persons who did not enter into the genealogy of Christ, and also accounts of kings and events of nations which surrounded the Hebrew people.'

Peter says, in his prologue, that his tables are intended to enable students to 'get up' their Scripture history, in spite of its prolixity, and their own poverty, which prevents their owning books. The tables, which have cost him great toil, will help them to retain in memory, 'as in a bag', the essential names and dates from Adam down to Christ.

Both the *Genealogy* and the *Histories* were interpolated and expanded in course of time. The best way to get an insight into the historical study of the Bible at about the year 1200 would be to examine glosses on the *Histories* and the notes written in the margins of early copies. Here we must be content with the fact that the *Histories* became a set book and that students were compelled to attend lectures on it. In the thirteenth century these lectures were given by the young *bachelarii biblici* who were not yet qualified to lecture on Scripture. The practice in Langton's day is not certain. Two glosses on the *Histories*, both of them *reportationes*, have been ascribed to him; they give a running exposition of the Comestor's text, brief and literal, but not excluding theological questions.¹

During lectures on Scripture the *Genealogy*, inscribed on a skin, was hung up on the wall of the class-room.² Perhaps the fact that his pupils could see it explains why Langton refers to the *Genealogy* once only, while he quotes the *Histories* as regularly as he does his standard authority, the *Gloss*.

Thanks to these arrangements, the master could assume a general historical background on the part of his students. We shall follow him now as, word by word, he guides them along the sacred page, embedded in its prologues and its glosses.

¹ See the discussion in 'Studies on the Commentaries', 18-51, where extracts from the two glosses are transcribed.

² P. S. Moore, 108, n. 20.

The literal exposition comprises the study of the letter, that is, textual criticism; the study of the literal sense, which is obtained by a process of historical and grammatical explanation; and finally any comments on this sense which suggest themselves to the master. His textual criticism, his explanation and comment will be conditioned by the particular copy of Scripture which lies before him and by the authorities which he has used in preparing his lecture. Since his text is the glossed text, both his exposition and his authorities for it will depend primarily on the *Gloss*. We shall be obliged to make several pauses, before we come to the literal exposition, in order to describe the text and glosses which are being expounded and the master's technique in treating them. Then, since the literal is a preliminary to the spiritual exposition, we shall have to pause again, in order to see how he distinguishes the first sense from the second. Then, at last, we shall arrive at the literal exposition itself.

The commentator begins his explanation of each book by a prologue, where he explains its authorship, its date (so far as these are known to him), the causes of its composition, its matter and purpose. Each prologue begins with a text of Scripture which either literally or spiritually applies 'to the book which we have in hand'. If the master's invention gave out when he was preparing the course he could consult one of the many collections of anonymous prologues compiled for this emergency; prologues seem to have been regarded as common property and were borrowed without scruple.¹ Then he runs through the text of the prologues of St. Jerome on the book he is expounding and the other prefatory matter which had become part of the *Gloss*.² It seems that this explanation of the prologues occupied a whole lecture, probably the second in the series, the first having been devoted to the master's own. The Comestor says that a second prologue was added to the first in the *Gloss* on St. Matthew, in order to provide sufficient material for one lecture, since the original prologue had not sufficed.³

Then the master reads out the text and its glosses. His students, judging by the custom of a later date, were supposed to bring Bibles to class with them, and possibly these

¹ B. Smalley and G. Lacombe, 'The Lombard's Commentary on Isaias and Other Fragments', *The New Scholasticism*, v (1931), 124 ff.

² S. Berger, 'Les Préfaces jointes aux livres de la Bible', *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, xi. ii (Paris, 1904).

³ B. Smalley, 'La Glossa Ordinaria' (op. cit., p. 33, n. 2), 369.

would be glossed. Nevertheless, text and glosses seem to have been read aloud. Our *reportationes* use the imperative:

'First note what is said in the gloss which begins thus. . . .

Then note the other gloss which begins thus. . . . Then note this gloss . . . and go through it to the end.'¹

Or they use the passive:

'Text and glosses having been read through as far as this place: *And she conceived again* [Osee i. 6], go back to the beginning, expounding allegorically.'²

It is not certain whether the master treated the *Gloss* as a supplement to his text or expounded it like his text. The text alone is underlined in the majority of Langton's glosses. He says in one passage of his lectures on the Minor Prophets that a certain gloss is exceptionally difficult; he will therefore put it as a text. Each clause of this gloss is then copied out, underlined, and expounded as though it were a text of Scripture.³ In the glosses of the Comestor and the Chanter, however, and in one version of Langton's gloss on Isaias, the *Gloss* is always underlined just as is the text.

Perhaps there was no fixed procedure in reading and commenting on the *Gloss*. The masters, in any case, take care to attach each gloss to its proper context:

'Note carefully the order of the glosses. Take this to begin with . . . after that resume the little piece you left off in the middle of the gloss . . . and then go back to the remainder of the other gloss . . . ; now this gloss alone . . . and it can be read after all the aforesaid glosses or before them.'⁴

The text is divided into sections—as in the passage quoted

¹ The opening of Langton's gloss on Genesis: P., fo. 2^b: 'Primo nota quod dicitur in glosa que sic incipit: Sicut Paulus. . . . Item nota aliam glosam que sic incipit: Cum in divina scriptura. . . . Item nota illam glosam: Divina scriptura aliquando loquitur de eternis, et eam prosequere usque ad finem.'

² The opening of his gloss on the Minor Prophets: T., fo. 1^c: 'Perlecta littera cum glosis usque ad hunc locum: *et concepit adhuc*, redi ad principium exponendo allegorice.'

³ T., fo. 84^b: 'Et nota hic misticam glosam Ieronimi que non parvam continet difficultatem, quam sicut textum hic ponemus, sic: *Unitas habet sacramentum unius Dei*; modo transi paulisper et dic: *quia unus et verus Deus est*; modo redi ad id quod dimisisti, sic: *et esse in hoc numero prima beatitudo*; quare dicatur *prima* dicemus iam. *Secunda in secundo* i.e. in decade. Istud, *secunda*, aut intellegitur ascendendo aut descendendo. . . .'

⁴ From Peter Comestor cited in 'La Glossa Ordinaria', 368-9. The glosses are denoted by their opening words. Similar examples could be quoted from the Chanter and Langton.

above, where Langton takes Osee i. 1-6 as his first unit. Langton expounds each of these sections, which he seems to choose quite arbitrarily, first in the literal, then in the spiritual senses. The Comestor and the Chanter seem to follow the order of the *Gloss*; hence they sometimes put the spiritual exposition *before* the literal. The Chanter is true to his principles, in that his exposition is brief;¹ he does not give a full exposition of each passage as Langton does.

Before the text can be expounded, however, the master must decide what it is. In the thirteenth century a certain text was selected and received as a standard. But the master could choose from a variety of readings for almost every passage at this period. The same interest which Hugh and Andrew had shown in the emendation of the text is recognizable in the Comestor and the Chanter, while Langton amends systematically. He draws up lists of variant readings in doubtful cases; he collates them with the text as quoted by St. Jerome 'in the original' (St. Jerome's commentary as distinct from extracts in the *Gloss*); sometimes he compares the latter with the text as quoted by some other well-known commentator, Raban Maur for example; he compares two texts as quoted by St. Jerome and by Peter Lombard, referring probably to the glossed Bible which had belonged to the Lombard.² We know, from the notes of Herbert of Bosham to the *Magna Glosatura*, that the Lombard took an interest in textual variants.

Langton was famous for his emendations and is frequently cited in the thirteenth-century *correctoria*. It is related that when he was lecturing on the *Histories* he suggested an amendment of the text 1 Par. viii. 11 which was seized upon by his audience and immediately adopted. It appears in many *correctoria* and in Hugh of St. Cher, though not in the official Paris text. In this particular instance Langton's alteration deserved its success, for the words of the Vulgate, as they stand at present, make no sense. They run *Mehusim vero genuit Abitob*; Douay version *And Mehisim begot Abitob*. For *Mehusim* Langton proposed 'de Husim'. The context clearly shows that 'Saharim', understood from verse 8, is the subject of the sentence; Husim was his wife. The Authorized

¹ In the *Verbum Abbreviatum* i, and also in his gloss on Isaias he inveighs against the 'superfluity of glosses'.

² 'The Lombard's Commentary on Isaias', op. cit. (p. 176, n. 1), 131-3; 'La Glossa Ordinaria', 370-1.

and Revised versions read 'And *of Huslim* he begat Abitub'. By changing a letter and substituting the two words for one, Langton was rendering a real service to the text and abolishing a purely illusory personage called 'Mehusim'.¹

In making these suggestions, Langton does not presume to establish his text. The state of the Vulgate would have made this a remote ideal; in any case, as we gather from Andrew, and later from Bacon, the contemporary Hebrew had such a powerful attraction that it distracted scholars from the equally urgent task of purifying St. Jerome's translation. The 'either-or' system was distracting too. Langton delights in collecting alternatives. A reading which bears clear signs of corruption may be useful to him afterwards, for the spiritual exposition; Langton joyfully adds it to his list. Take, for instance, his treatment of the text Zach. i. 21 which describes the vision of the four horns which were to destroy Juda, and the four smiths who were to cast down the horns, 'to fray them' and to save Juda from her enemies. The Vulgate reads: '*Haec sunt cornua quae ventilaverunt Iudam . . . et venerunt isti deterere ea*'; Douay version: 'These are the horns that have scattered Juda. . . . And these are come to fray them.' Langton sets forth the above reading, and adds:

'That is the text given by Jerome and the Lombard, *but the other reading accords better with the tropology*—"deterere ea". The horns that scatter Juda are not only to be "frayed" or "broken", but "demolished", "ground away".'

They represent sin, and even the circumstances of sin must not be permitted to remain.²

His general attitude towards variations in the text seems to be that so long as the sense is more or less the same, the actual wording need not concern us overmuch. He contents himself with giving the two readings and suspending judgement. For Malachias iv. 1, for instance, he observes that

¹ J. P. P. Martin, 'Le texte parisien de la Vulgate latine', *Muséon*, vii (1888), 287 ff. Martin has verified the passage in Langton's gloss on the *Historia Scholastica*, Bibl. Nat. MS. 14417, fo. 89^e and 393, fo. 108^d. 'In Hebraeo vero *me* sonat *de*. Verum forte deberet ibi esse *De Usim* non *Meusim* et ita de *Usi* alia uxore genuit istos qui sequuntur etc.' The *correctorium* MS. 140 Bibl. S. Marco, Venice, fo. 126^e (time of Roger Bacon) reads 'Cantuariensis dicit quod *Meusim* duo sunt partes quia "*me*" idem est quod "*de*", hoc est "*de-Usim*". Quod verbum quidam rapuerunt de ore eius et in textu posuerunt "*De Usim*".'

² T., fo. 170^e: '*Et venerunt isti fabri deterere ea*, sicut enim dicit Ieronimus et Lumbardus; tamen alia littera que magis competit tropologie est *deterere ea*. Non solum enim predicta cornua sunt deterrenda vel confringenda, sed etiam deterenda, sive conterenda, ne aliquae reliquiae Amalech in peccatorum circumstantiis supersint.'

Jerome, and also the Septuagint, have . . . *et inflammabit eos dies veniens*. . . . Some books have *dies veniet*. The sense is more or less identical; but if we take the second reading we must put a stop after the words *et inflammabit eos* and take them with the preceding sentence.¹

We begin to realize the difficulties under which masters and pupils were labouring before the adoption of a standard text and punctuation. But we also realize that instead of being appalled by these difficulties, Langton finds them rich in suggestions for his moral teaching.

Another problem was the lack of a standard chapter division in twelfth-century Bibles. One of the most usual medieval methods was to divide each book into large sections with a summary of contents at the head of each; these items were numbered and known as *tituli*. There were also various systems of capitulation, some giving fewer, others many more chapters than our present system.² The official text of Paris was divided into chapters, closely corresponding to ours; they were gradually modified during the thirteenth century until the correspondence was complete;³ through the Paris text this particular division became the standard everywhere.

The custom of referring to chapters when quoting from Scripture was either rare or unknown before the second half of the twelfth century.⁴ The development of the lecture and *reportatio* system must have shown the convenience of such references; the centralization of studies at Paris must have shown the desirability of standardizing them. Hence we find that our three masters mark three stages in the reception and standardization of chapter division, previous to that of the Paris text.

Peter Comestor simply tells us that chapters are used in Gospel harmonies, but that he does not propose to mention them; and he explains the difference between the *capitula* of

¹ T., fo. 207^r: '*Et inflammabit eos dies veniens*: hanc litteram ponit Ieronimus et etiam septuaginta. Quidam libri habent *dies veniet*; et est satis idem sensus. Sed secundum hoc clausula precedens terminatur hic *inflammabit eos*.'

² O. Schmidt, *Ueber verschiedene Eintheilungen der heiligen Schrift* (Graz, 1892).

³ Martin, op. cit. (p. 179, n. 1), viii. 457 ff.

⁴ For this and the next two paragraphs my authority, unless specially mentioned, is A. Landgraf, 'Die Schriftzitate in der Scholastik um die Wende des 12. zum 13. Jahrh.', *Biblica*, xviii (1937), 74-94, where references to earlier studies will be found; see also F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 34; G. Lacombe, 'Studies on the Commentaries', 15. Denifle noted that Nicholas Maniacoria, working soon after 1198, still used one of the older systems. See below, p. 192, n. 1.

St. Jerome and those in current use. One example he gives us proves that he is familiar with a system of division which was afterwards superseded.¹ Peter the Chanter seems to have been the first to refer constantly to chapter divisions in his biblical quotations. He, too, is using one of the older systems. The arrangement is still unstandardized. He will sometimes compare two divisions of his text and prefer one to another:

'At the same time [Jos. xxii. 1]. It is much better, (he says) to begin the chapter *here*; others begin it above.'²

We turn from the Chanter to Langton with a feeling of expectancy, since later chroniclers, Trivet and Knighton, have credited him with dividing the Bible into 'the chapters which the moderns use'; and lists of chapters, closely corresponding to that of the Paris Bible, are ascribed to him in various manuscripts.

A study of his glosses and *Quaestiones* shows that he often refers to chapters by numbers; and these numbers show two systems of divisions in use, one old and one new.³ But the numbers as given by our manuscripts do not necessarily go back to the original *reportatio*. It is certain, in some cases, that they have been inserted later, either by Langton himself, or by scribes or pupils. They are interesting witness to the reigning confusion, but not to Langton's practice as a lecturer. When, on the other hand, we find him giving his references by words instead of numbers we feel more confident. It is easier to add numerals, in making a copy, than to revise the wording. We may accept these verbal references as genuine evidence for what was said in class.

We find that Langton refers either to the approximate place in the book from which he is quoting without giving the chapter: 'in Ecclesiasticus, *near the end*'; or to the chapter by its opening words: 'in that chapter of Ecclesiasticus: *The*

¹ The following passages may be noted in addition to those quoted by Dr. Landgraf: Comment on *spatiatim* in the *Gloss* prologue to St. Mark, MS. Pembroke College, Cambridge, 7, fo. 229^a: 'et noli intelligere capitula maiores distinctiones que fiunt secundum ordinem tractatus, sed minores clausulas, quandoque unius tantum, quandoque duarum linearum.' On Mc. viii. 36, *ibid.*, fo. 246^a: 'Quid enim proderit . . . ad ingressum huius capituli lege glosam . . .'

² MS. Balliol 23, fo. 126^c: 'Eodem tempore, hic, inquit, magis et melius debet incipere capitulum, alii supra.' From the context it seems that *supra* refers to *nullus hostium* [xxi. 42].

³ Dr. Landgraf finds this double system in Langton's glosses on the Pauline Epistles and in his *Quaestiones*. I have found it myself in his Old Testament glosses.

offering of him that sacrifices wrongfully [xxxiv. 21], it is said: *He that sheddeth blood, etc.*'¹ The chapters thus quoted do not correspond with the modern system which has been ascribed to him. He is using one of the old systems. It would be interesting to see whether he had adopted the Chanter's; but at present there is insufficient evidence.

Hence, if the tradition which ascribes the present division to Langton is true, we must infer that he introduced it towards the end of his teaching period. This inference is borne out by a copy of his gloss on the Minor Prophets, MS. Troyes 1046, which is dated by the scribe as 1203. This is certainly not the original but a copy, since the text is already poor; it is poorer than in some later manuscripts. The colophon, however, is probably original to this manuscript; the appearance of the script corresponds to the date. Unfortunately there are no marks of provenance. The gloss is divided into chapters, according to the biblical text, by numerals in red ink which have been inserted into spaces left for the purpose, and again by numerals in black ink in the margin; both red and black figures seem to have been written by the scribe of the text and colophon. They correspond to the modern chapter division, with nine exceptions, two of which, the omission of chapter IV in Jonas and Sophonias, might be due to carelessness; the remaining seven are slight divergences of one or two verses; for instance, Osee vi is marked at the present v. 14. Therefore, Langton's new division was known and was used in copying one of his glosses in 1203.

This copy of Langton on the Minor Prophets is significant, if compared with others of about the same or a little later date. These are either undivided, except by a later hand, or divided according to an older system. MS. Cambrai 333 (315) has the old-fashioned *tituli*; MS. Balliol 22 has forty-five chapters for Osee, eleven for Joel, thirty-three for Amos, and so on. A rather similar arrangement is found in a copy of the Chanter on the Minor Prophets, late twelfth or early thirteenth century, in MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 17988; here we have forty-six for Osee, eleven for Joel, forty-one for Amos.

MS. Troyes 1046 gives us valuable evidence for the fact

¹ Lack of space prevents my giving more than two examples here; both are typical: T., fo. 206^c: 'Item in illo capitulo Ecclesiastici: *immolantis ex iniquo* [xxxiv. 21] dicitur: *qui effundit sanguinem* [27].' P., fo. 11^b: 'De prohibitione suffocati dicitur in Actibus Apostolorum [xv. 29] in illo capitulo: *Placuit Spiritui Sancto et nobis* [28].'

that Langton was connected with the new division, and that this was known in France by 1203, although he did not use it in his lectures. That the chapter problem had been exercising him, comparatively early in his teaching career, is proved by a remark in his gloss on St. Jerome's prologue to Josue: *Monemusque lectorem ut . . . distinctiones per membra divisas diligens scriptor conservet:*

'By portions, that is by chapters, which are very necessary for finding what you want and for remembering. Here you have authority for chapter division.'¹

Langton's improvement evidently came at the end of about thirty years of trial and error, in which the Chanter and other unknown masters had shared. It was the outcome of his teaching experience.

When we pass from the text and its division to the *Gloss*, we find that the two elder masters seem to be on firmer ground. The Comestor and the Chanter both recognize some sort of official standard for the number of glosses to their text. They know which glosses are authorized and which ought to be 'expuncted' (the medieval equivalent to crossing out):

' . . . Now read the interlinear glosses; I want to note all that you ought to read here, for certain books have many glosses in this place which are to be expuncted.'²

With Langton this vigilance over the glosses is relaxed. He takes for granted a certain diversity in the number of glosses. On Ag. ii. 6, for instance, he says:

'Note that Gregory expounds four clauses here in the *Moralia*; whence certain books have here a certain gloss, namely this: *He sows much* . . . Certain books do not have this gloss and so we have put it here.'³

He also accepts a diversity of wording in the glosses; he compares his own copy of the *Gloss* with the Lombard's, just as he

¹ P., fo. 107^a: '*Per membra id est per capitula . . . que valde necessaria sunt ad inveniendum quod volueris et ad tenendum memoriter. Hic habes auctoritatem distinguendi capitula.*'

² MS, Pembroke, 7, fo. 188^a: '*. . . modo lege interlineares. Volo enim notare omnes quas debes hic legere quia in quibusdam sunt multe que appunctande sunt in hoc loco.*'

³ T., ff. 160^d-161^a: '*Item nota quod Gregorius in *Moralibus* hic exponit quatuor clausulas. Unde quidam libri habent inde hic quandam glosam, scil. hanc: *Multum seminat* . . . Quidam libri hanc glosam non habent, et ideo eam hic posuimus.*'

compares his own and the Lombard's text.¹ It seems that the text of the *Gloss* had got out of control in the years between its reception and Langton's lectures.

The Comestor and the Chanter also distinguish carefully between *expositor* and *glosator*, *ordinator glose*. The former is a patristic authority quoted in the *Gloss*, the latter one of those masters who was responsible for putting the *Gloss* together. The Comestor contrasts Raban Maur with 'the glossator';² the Chanter throws out warnings:

'And *this* gloss the compiler [*ordinator glose*] put in, not Jerome.'³

It is the same distinction as Herbert of Bosham observed in his edition of the Lombard's *Great Gloss*. Roger Bacon refers to it under a new name; he contrasts the *authentica* with the *magistralia*, and complains that the distinction was not being kept; the glosses of masters were treated as though they were 'authoritative', i.e. patristic.⁴ Langton seems to mark a transition in terminology. He does not use the expressions *expositor* and *glosator*; he puts the distinction negatively in this way:

'part of this gloss is by Jerome, part is not . . .'⁵

Then, in his later work, on Ezechiel, which must have appeared soon before 1206, I have found the expression *glosa magistralis*.⁶ But the important point is the distinction, however it was expressed. None of our three masters deserves Bacon's reproach. They do not confuse their masters and Fathers. On the contrary they struggle to preserve the ascriptions of the glosses against the negligence of copyists who omit or misplace the names.

Apart from the problem of uniformity, the use of the *Gloss* involved grave disadvantages: no text-book can replace the study of original sources. The twelfth-century masters realized this keenly; they accepted the text-book system as a necessary evil, just as we do. Thus an English commentator, Ralph Niger, excuses himself for quoting the *Gloss*:

'We put the sacred expositions of the holy Fathers before our own researches, just as we heard them in the schools, but in

¹ 'The Lombard's Commentary on Isaias', 132-3; 'La Glossa Ordinaria', 400.

² MS. Laud Misc. 291, fo. 6^d.

³ MS. Brussels 252, fo. 26^v.

⁴ See above, p. 146, n. 3.

⁵ See below, p. 187, n. 1.

⁶ MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 89, fo. 113^b.

brief, that those who read may understand, by reason of this very brevity, that one should go back to the originals for full knowledge of them.'¹

To 'go back to the originals for full knowledge' is the aim of our three masters, especially Langton. His method is to make the *Gloss* his starting-point and to check the extracts by their originals. The *Gloss* on Genesis and Exodus, for instance, is chiefly composed of extracts from St. Augustine—*De Genesi ad Litteram* and *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*: Langton refers to sections of these works which are not included in the *Gloss*;² but he does not find much use for the important work of Ambrose on the Hexaemeron, presumably because the glossator had not used it. Similarly with the *Gloss* on Judith, which is compiled from the commentary of Raban Maur: Langton makes Raban his chief authority, filling up gaps in the *Gloss* from Raban's original commentary. When he refers to 'Rabanus' instead of to *glosa* he is quoting from the latter work, not from the *Gloss*.³

The Minor Prophets give us some especially interesting examples of Langton's system. The *Gloss* on this book was composed almost exclusively of extracts from St. Jerome's commentary. Langton again uses the two sources, describing the latter as *Ieronimus in originali*, while the former is, as usual, *glosa*, or *glosa Ieronimi*. He does not only supplement one by the other, he actually compares the two. Commentators had some difficulty in explaining the meaning of the preposition in the phrase *Verbum Domini quod factum est ad Joel*. Langton explains the solution given by St. Jerome, as reproduced in the *Gloss*; then he goes on to say that Jerome's original text seems to contradict Jerome as quoted

¹ The prologue to his commentary on Kings, MS. Lincoln Cathedral 25, o. 6^o: 'Sacras expositiones sanctorum patrum dumtaxat quas in scolis audivimus, nostris inquisitionibus superponimus, sub brevitate tamen, ut qui eas legerint ex ipsa brevitate intelligant ad originalia scripta fore recurrendum, ad plenam de eis notitiam habendam.' Though Ralph does not use the word *glosa*, collation shows that he was using the *Gloss*. His commentary was finished soon before Feb. 7, 1191. See the letters published by W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden*, ii (Göttingen, 1937), 453-4. Ralph had studied at Paris under Gerard La Pucelle.

² For example, P., fo. 19^b. *Quaestio* on Gen. xxiv. 25: '... querit Augustinus quomodo potuerunt filii Rachel tantum malum perpetrare...' See Aug: *Quaestio CVIII in Genesim*, P.L. xxxv. 575.

³ MS. Exeter College 23, fo. 12^d (on Judith vi. 14): 'Unde nota quod dicit Rabanus quod magnum et precipuum in piis precibus sit adiutorium...' See Raban, P.L. cix. 555. Langton summarizes. I found only one case in the whole commentary on Judith where 'Rabanus' was traceable to the *Gloss*.

in the *Gloss*; so he gives what he supposes to be St. Jerome's meaning, and shows that in reality there is no contradiction in his thought.¹

In another context, Langton corrects the *Gloss* by comparison with the original. Several lines of the original have been dropped out in the *Gloss*, to the great detriment of the sense. The *Gloss* comments as follows upon Nahum i. 2: *Ulciscens Dominus et habens furorem*, explaining that the divine wrath has a benevolent intent; it is an excerpt from St. Jerome:

‘*Ulciscens Dominus . . . Non quasi inimicus sed ut ligno, foeno stipulaque consumptis, purum aurum recipiat, et quidquid hostile et contrarium sibi invenerit, tollat, et in pristinum statum restituat et reducat.*’

The sentence obviously means nothing; how can the dross be ‘restored to its former condition’ when it has already been purged away to leave only the gold? The key to the riddle is that only as far as *recipiat* is intended to apply to *ulciscens Dominus et habens furorem*. The next sentence, *Et quidquid hostile, &c.*, is an extract from St. Jerome’s comment on the sequel *ulciscens Dominus in hostes suos*, which introduces quite a new line of thought. Langton shows how this last passage has been taken from its context and joined to the former excerpt, the intervening words being omitted. ‘With what effect’, he adds, ‘you may see for yourself.’²

In another passage he points out that a spurious addition

¹ T., fo. 61^c: ‘Unde glosa: “*ad Ioel recte factum est verbum Dei, quod erat in principio apud Deum, porro factum non secundum se, sed secundum eum ad quem dicitur, fit. Unde ‘factus est mihi in salutem’.*” Quasi sicut hec dictio *factus* nichil copulat Deo, cum dicitur “*factus est mihi in salutem*”. . . . Sed huic expositioni contrarium videtur quod Ieronimus predictae glose continuat in originali, sic: “qui post me venit, ante me factus est, quia prior me erat”. Sed istud intelligitur in evangelio de incarnatione, ergo et istud *factum* quod hic ponitur in textu de incarnatione, quod est contra predictam glosam. Dicimus [solution follows] . . . et ita planum est quod est in textu et in glosa.’ See the *Gloss* in loc., and St. Jerome, *P.L.* xxv. 949.

² T., fo. 116^d–117^a: ‘. . . et post glosam ubi dicitur “non quasi inimicus etc.” in originali sic: “non quod sit inimicus et ultor quod de diabolo dicitur, sed, quod amica sit eius ultio, et quasi ignis lignum, fenum, stipulum consumat, ut purum aurum remaneat et argentum” [this is quoted from St. Jerome, *P.L.* xxv. 1233]. Quod autem sequitur in glosa non continuatur precedenti in originali. Sequitur in originali: “*Ulciscens Dominus in hostes suos . . .*” Ieronimus: “secundum utramque intelligentiam corripit Dominus quem diligit et castigat omnem filium quem recipit. Ideo irascitur ut quod adversarium et inimicum sibi est, tollat ex hostibus et . . . in antiquum redeat statum” [St. Jerome, *ibid.*]. Nota hoc ultimum coniungitur cum precedentibus in illa glosa “*Zelatus Dominus etc.*”, utrum autem bene, tu videris.’

has been made to the words of St. Jerome as they are reproduced in the *Gloss*. The first part only of the excerpt in the *Gloss* is genuine. Langton is right, as appears from a comparison of St. Jerome's commentary with the *Gloss*.¹

Now at last, after diversities in the text and glosses have been dealt with, we may expect to have reached the commentary. Not yet, but we are getting near. We are preparing for the exposition of the letter. Hugh of St. Victor had taught exegetes to distinguish carefully between the literal and spiritual exposition, not to begin on the second until they had considered the first. Neither expositors nor glossators had been as alive to the distinction between letter and spirit as Hugh. Hence the masters who try to follow Hugh's teaching have the delicate business of sorting out the glosses and deciding which of them to expound in a literal sense and which in a spiritual:

'See that you do not confuse the glosses belonging to both expositions. . . . Here leave off the gloss, since what follows belongs to the other exposition.'²

'[Here] you have no gloss for the letter except for this interlinear gloss.'

'This gloss can also be taken in a mystical sense.'³

'Up to here the gloss is metaphorical, from this place allegorical.'⁴

An anonymous gloss on the *Gloss* of Genesis takes the trouble to point out that certain passages in the *Gloss*, which really expound in a literal sense, are incorrectly headed 'mystical' or 'moral'.⁵

Peter Comestor feels that one can have too much of a good

¹ T., fo. 125^b (on Nahum ii. 3): 'Nota glosam "*Clipeus* id est arma diaboli etc." Cuius pars est Ieronimi, pars non, ut patet per verba que posuimus in fine eius; dicitur quod mali quando ducentur in infernum indignabuntur "pro malis contra se que gesserunt et tamen contra Deum . . .". Cf. St. Jerome, *P.L.* xxv. 1247.

² The Comestor on St. Matthew, MS. Laud Misc. 291, fo. 8^a: 'Vide ergo ne commisceas glosas de utraque expositione. . . . Hic dimitte glosam, quia quod sequitur est de alia expositione.'

³ The Chanter on Isaías, MS. Brussels 252, fo. 40^v: 'Ad litteram non habes glosam nisi hanc interlinearem'; fo. 49^r: 'Potest etiam hec glosa esse de mystico sensu.'

⁴ The Comestor on St. Mark, MS. Pembroke College, Cambridge, 7, fo. 231^b: 'Hucusque est glosa metaphorica, ab hoc loco allegorica.'

⁵ MS. Eton College 48, fo. 116^d: 'hec autem glosa, licet mistica intituletur, toto litteralis'; fo. 117^a: 'Nota quod hec glosa moralis intituletur, quamvis ad litteram spectat.' On this MS. see 'Gilbertus Universalis', op. cit. (p. 41, n. 1), vii. 256. I think that the *Notulae super Genesim* are the work of a Paris master, possibly a *reporatio*, of the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century.

thing, even of the spiritual sense. He praises the compiler of the *Gloss* because, unlike another commentator, he has kept the spiritual exposition of the Gospel genealogy within bounds. It is a glorious burst of frankness:

'Isaac begat Jacob. In the glosses of Master Geoffrey Babion (he says) which are solemn and authoritative, you will find the whole genealogy expounded allegorically and tropologically. But he who compiled the glosses here has maintained so just a balance that he expounds what is said of these three patriarchs only morally, what follows of the others only allegorically. Then sufficient unto the day be the evil thereof; so let us have nothing here more than is needed.'¹

The Chanter is puzzled by a difference between the *Gloss* and the liturgy. The words of Isaias *All they from Saba shall come bringing gold and frankincense* [lx. 6] are sung in the gradual of the Mass for Epiphany, as a *literal* prophecy of the Three Kings. But the *Gloss* gives it a different, a mystical interpretation. Perhaps, he suggests, it was *after* St. Jerome's exposition of Isaias that the Church instituted the singing of this text in literal reference to the Three Kings.² In that case St. Jerome could not have been consciously opposing the liturgical use.

In their attitude to metaphor and prophecy we see the full result of Hugh's teaching. Andrew's hesitation before the Jewish arguments and the debate in the *De Emmanuele* counted for something too. Exegetes now had to decide definitely whether they would include metaphor in the historical sense, whether they would take a prophecy as referring literally to Christ, or whether this belonged only to the allegorical exposition. An anonymous gloss on the Psalter, of the later twelfth century, explains briefly that the prophecy *Behold a virgin shall conceive* is expounded 'literally

¹ MS. Laud Misc. 291, fo. 3^v: '*Ysaac genuit Jacob.* In glosis, inquit, magistri Gau[fridi] Ba[bion] que solempnes sunt et auctentice, invenies totam genealogiam allegorice et tropologicè expositam. Qui autem hic apposuit glosas ita temperate equilibravit ut quod dictum est de his tribus patribus tantum moraliter exponeret, quod autem sequitur de aliis tantum allegorice. Sufficiat ergo diei malitia sua, ut nihil preter quod oportet hic apponamus.' The description exactly fits the *Gloss* on this passage, and the excessively long exposition which Peter objects to is found in a commentary sometimes ascribed to Geoffrey Babion (printed *P.L.* clxii. 1230.). See A. Wilmart, 'Un commentaire des Psaumes restitué à Anselme de Laon', op. cit. (p. 33, n. 3), 337, n. 45.

² MS. Brussels 252, fo. 171^v: 'Hec tamen solent cantari in Epiphania ad litteram de tribus regibus. . . . Non tamen exponitur hic sic. Forte post expositionem Ysaie ordinavit ecclesia ut hec cantaret die illo de tribus regibus ad litteram.'

of the Blessed Virgin, spiritually of the Church'.¹ Very significant is a parenthesis in the *Allegoriae super Tabernaculum* of Peter of Poitiers. It occurs in a part of his work where he has contented himself with merely transcribing his sources. Nevertheless, when he comes to Bede's definition of allegory, with Bede's example '*There shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse &c.*', that is, the Virgin Mary shall be born of the stem of David and Christ of her', Peter feels compelled to add a qualification: 'but certain men say that this is history related metaphorically'.²

Bede was expounding the primary meaning of the prophecy; therefore, Peter thinks, he ought to have counted it as belonging to the historical sense. Peter cannot agree, even with Bede, his favourite authority, in classifying the primary historical sense as allegorical just because it contains a prophetic metaphor.

Peter the Chanter has broached the problem more explicitly in his comment on the prophecy of Balaam. Andrew, whose work lay before him when he prepared his lecture, said that the Jews expounded Balaam's prophecy *A star shall rise out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall spring up from Israel* [Num. xxiv. 17] of their Messias. The Chanter justifies himself for accepting it in the Christian sense.

'Note that everything which is said of Christ up to *And when he saw* [verse 20] can be applied to David, except this *he shall waste all the children of Seth*.'

Since all save the descendants of Seth perished in the flood, the *children of Seth* stand for all mankind.

'But David did not waste all mankind, nor the men of all nations, and this at least is true of Christ'.³

The clearest, firmest, and yet the subtlest treatment of the question appears in Langton, on the same text:

¹ MS. Pembroke College, Cambridge, 7, fo. 1^d: '*ecce virgo etc.* litteraliter de beata virgine, spiritualiter exponitur de ecclesia impleta.'

² Petri Pictaviensis, *Allegoriae super Tabernaculum Moysi*, ed. P. S. Moore and J. A. Corbett (Notre Dame, Indiana, 1938), 100-2: '*quidam tamen dicunt hoc esse historiam per metaphorice transumpta verba narratam; . . .*'

³ MS. Balliol 23, fo. 42^d: '*Et nota quod omnia que dicuntur de Christo usque ad illum locum cumque vidisset possunt convenire David, preter illud: vastavit omnes filios Seth. Cum enim occisus esset Abel a Cain, non remanserunt nisi filii Cain. Sed Adam iterum cognovit uxorem et genuit Seth* [Gen. iv. 25]. In diluvio autem perierunt omnes de genere Cain, et omnes de genere Seth preter Noe et eius filios. Constat ergo quod sunt *omnes filii Seth*, sed non omnes homines vastavit David nec omnium nationum homines, quod saltem de Christo verum est.' The same argument is more briefly put in the *Historia Scholastica*, P.L. cxcviii. 1239.

'This is a manifest prophecy of Christ. Hence no literal interpretation other than the prophecy ought to be understood. Thus should we expound the letter: *A star* Christ shall rise through incarnation *out of Jacob* the Jewish people. . . . *And he shall possess Idumea*; all peoples shall be his, that is Christ's. Literally this was fulfilled under David; that [it might] mystically [signify that] Christ should strike the vices [i.e. *the chiefs of Moab*] and possess their lands, that is the men whom sin has in bondage.'¹

Langton means that part of Balaam's prophecy had its literal fulfilment under David, and that this in its turn symbolized the coming of Christ. He counts it as part of the literal sense because he believes that it should all be included in the prophet's original meaning. He sees that metaphor, symbolism, and allegory can come into the literal exposition if they were present in the prophet's mind. We know that he kept the literal sense of the prophecy distinct, since the passage is given its 'spiritual exposition' later on; allegorically the *star* is the Blessed Virgin, the *sceptre* her Son; tropologically, the *star* is the 'light of good works', the *sceptre* 'chastisement of conscience'.

The idea has taken such firm root in him that he applies it to the moral teaching of the letter too. He distinguishes between the 'tropological sense' or moralization and the moral lesson which can be deduced from the straightforward teaching of the text. The latter he calls *moralitas secundum litteram*. Commenting on the opening of Tobias, for instance, he says:

'See the morality according to the letter; take this: *in his captivity* [1, 2] Lo! he is praised for standing firm in adversity . . .'²

We are not concerned with the treatment of prophecy or the reasoning, but with the distinction which is made between 'literal' and 'spiritual' exposition. A clear distinction was the condition of anything that we should call exegesis, as we shall see when we consider the nature of the spiritual senses. The twelfth-century masters were feeling dissatisfied. They do not question the system of the fourfold exposition; but they struggle to reduce it to order, to remove its ambiguities. They hint at earnest discussion behind the scenes.

The same applies to their comments on the 'letter', which at last we have reached. Our problem is to decide whether they continued in the spirit of the Victorine tradition. They

¹ 'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses', 65-6.

² Ibid., 64.

show their appreciation of it by quoting Andrew; how far do they follow his example of research and exploit the sources he had opened up for them? Only a thorough examination of their sources could answer this question. All one can say at present is: 'yes—to some extent'. The Comestor certainly quotes Jewish traditions which he does not take from the Fathers or Andrew. Both the Chanter and Langton, in glossing Isa. vii, show traces of fresh discussions with the Jews. The Chanter knows two Jewish explanations of the text; one might be derived from the *De Emmanuele*; that Emmanuel was the son of Isaias; the other was not mentioned by Andrew; that Emmanuel was Ezechias the son of Achaz. It seems that the Chanter had had personal contact with Jewish scholars, since he remarks that they have learnt dialectic. After quoting the Jewish view according to St. Jerome, he continues:

'The Jews of our time say otherwise, being versed in the sophism of composition. They say that it should be taken not as compounding but as predicating, thus: "she who is a *virgin* shall conceive, not however remaining virgin".'

Or, as a gloss which is based on the Chanter has it: 'The Jews of our time are *Parvipontani*', i.e. hair splitting logicians, after a characteristic of the school on the Petit Pont.¹

Langton, who knows the Chanter's gloss, has advanced the argument a stage further. He repeats the Chanter's objections to the Jewish view, with the comment:

'But this the Jews solve easily; for they read the text thus . . .'

A fresh exchange of argument follows.²

By the turn of the century, when Langton was working, Hebrew studies were becoming more common. Ralph Niger and Alexander Nequam both knew some elementary Hebrew and consulted Jews.³ Nicholas Maniacoria, working

¹ MS. Brussels 252, fo. 30^v; see B. Smalley, 'A Collection of Paris Lectures', op. cit. (p. 41, n. 1), 112–13.

² MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 14417, fo. 181^b. Neither the Chanter nor Langton, however, approved of disputation with Jews. The Chanter recalls an occasion when the Jews scored against the Christians; Langton says that a man should not argue unless the Jews challenge him. MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15565, fo. 101^d (on Ecclus. viii. 15: *Noli foenerari homini fortiori te, etc.*): '. . . ut in disputatione Iudeorum et clericorum Remis, cum quidam opponeret quod solus Deus novit cogitationem, respondit Iudeus multis exemplis hoc esse falsum.' MS. Rawl. C. 427, fo. 10^a (on 1 Reg. xiv. 9: '. . . stemus in loco nostro, nec ascendamus ad eos'): 'argumentum est quod non est disputandum cum Iudeis nisi provocatus fuerit quis.'

³ See the forthcoming study by G. Flahiff, 'The Life and Writings of Ralph

soon after 1198, published a treatise on the correction of the text which shows the indirect influence of Rashi.¹ Paulin Martin points out that Langton corrected the text from the original Hebrew. Of the three examples quoted by Martin,² one has been taken over by Langton from Andrew.³ It is quite probable that the other two were original to Langton; but one cannot be sure that they represent a personal knowledge of Hebrew, as distinct from an indirect knowledge, gained in talks with Jews.

Langton certainly continues the practice of consultation. On the *three crimes of Moab* [Amos ii. 1] the *Gloss* refers him to 4 Kings iii. 26-7: *the king of Moab . . . took his eldest son . . . and offered him for a burnt offering upon the wall*. The *reportatio* of Langton's comment on this reads:

'Note that the *Gloss* and also the text of Kings seems to mean that the king of Moab offered up his *own* son upon the wall. But a certain very learned Jew told the Master that he offered not his own son, but the son of the king of Edom.'⁴

Langton's contemporary, David Kimhi, reports this opinion in the name of his father Joseph (1105-70).⁵

Perhaps the most interesting example that I have found is Langton's comment on the relative positions of Abarim, Phasga, and Mount Nebo, where Moses died [Deut. xxxiv. 1]. He gives the opinion of Andrew of St. Victor, 'who follows Master Hugh', and contrasts it with that of 'the modern Jews', who 'say otherwise'. This second opinion, I am told, is found in the compilation of Hazzekuni, who was Langton's contemporary. Langton is doing what Bacon recommended long afterwards, checking Andrew by his own knowledge of the Hebrew sources. Nevertheless, he goes on to prefer the Chanter's opinion; it 'seems truer' and 'the Master in the Histories' agrees with it.⁶

Niger', *Studies of the Mediaeval Institute of Toronto*. Mr. R. W. Hunt lent me his transcript and notes of Alexander Nequam's commentary on Ecclesiastes.

¹ H. Denifle, *op. cit.* (p. 153, n. 2), 270-7; 601; *Quam notitiam*, 12-15.

² *Op. cit.* (p. 179, n. 1), 455.

³ Langton's comment on 1 Kings v. 6 is taken from Andrew on the same verse. MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 56^{b-c}.

⁴ MS. Maz. 177, fo. 95^c: 'Nota quod predicta glosa et etiam textus Regum videtur velle quod rex Moab immolavit suum proprium filium super murum. Dixit tamen quidam Hebreus doctissimus magistro quod non immolavit proprium filium sed filium regis Idumee.'

⁵ I have to thank Dr. Rabinowitz for this information.

⁶ I reproduce the whole passage, together with the sources, as an interesting example of the geographical question. MS. Trinity College, Oxford, 65, fo. 291^b:

This is typical of Langton's attitude. He has a passion for reconciling his authorities (including the *Histories*) which turns his lectures into a kind of *concordantia discordantium glosarum*. Theologians were evolving a technique for interpreting their authorities with the aid of dialectic; so Langton instinctively applies the same method to geography. Where his sources differ about the place-names of Palestine, he has no hesitation in reconciling them by means of the 'distinction' and the 'equivocation', as though place-names were abstract terms.

Commenting on Amos i. 12: *I will send a fire into Themar, and it shall devour the houses of Bosra*, he devotes a good deal of space to the identification of *Bosra*.¹ The *Bosra* mentioned in this verse is the name of a city of Edom, derived from the Hebrew for 'fortified'. It is identical with the *Bosra* of Isa. lxiii. 1, and Jerem. xlix. 13 and 22, and to be distinguished from the town of Moab (Jerem. xlviii. 24) which is really the 'Bosor' of Ruben.² Langton was right, therefore, in distinguishing two separate Bosras, though he makes some mistakes in detail. He first marshals his authorities on the text in question. The *Interlinear Gloss* on Amos i. 12 says that *Bosra* is a city in Edom; St. Jerome says it is another name for the whole region of Edom: '*Bosrae non sicut quidam putant alterius civitatis sed Idumaeae.*' The *Gloss* on Isa. lxiii. 1, '*Who is this that cometh from Edom with dyed garments from*

Item supra in benedictionibus dicit: *Ascende in montem istum Abarim, in montem Nebo*. Item hic dicitur: *Ascendit ergo Moyses de campestribus Moab super montem Nebo, in verticem Phasga*. Quomodo est hoc intelligendum vel quomodo possunt simul stare hec? Respondit: Andreas sancti Victoris, magistrum Hugonem secutus, dicit quod Phasga provincia est, Abarim mons, Nebo oppidum quoddam, et quia dicitur *in montem Abarim*, hoc proprie dicitur, et est ibi intransitio; quod autem dicitur hic *super montem Nebo* improprie dicitur, et est ibi transitio, et est sensus, i.e. super Abarim, qui est iuxta Nebo oppidum. Hebrei moderni aliter dicunt: quod tam Abarim quam Nebo contra Phasga montes sunt, et quod Moyses in Nebo mortuus est. Verius videtur quod Abarim fuit mons quidam magnus per quem erat descensus in Nebo, cuius Nebo scil. vertex erat altissima, et dicebatur Phasga cacumen illius, et huic concordat magister in hystoriis.'

ll. 1-2. Deut. xxxii. 49.

1. 4. This opinion is not in the published works of Hugh.

ll. 5-6. Andrew on the same text, MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 47b: 'Nabo oppidum est, mons eius est Abarim; *in verticem Phasga*; Phasga est provincia; verticem Phasga montem Abarim appellat, replicans more scripture quod iam superius dixerat.'

ll. 10-12. The Chanter, MS. Balliol 23, fo. 111d: 'Nota quod Abbarim nomen est montis, Nebo nomen verticis eiusdem montis, cuius etiam montis nomen est Phasga, et inde potest videri terra promissionis.'

1. 12. Deut. iii. 27: 'Ascende cacumen Phasgae . . .'

Historia Scholastica, P.L. cxcviii. 1259-60.

¹ The whole passage is too long to reproduce here. T., ff. 75^d-76^a: '... et ita secundum diversas significationes huius vocis *Bosra* locuntur hic glose ...'

² A. Legendre, art. 'Bosra', in *Dict. de la Bible*, ed. Vigouroux.

Bosra?" calls this Bosra a city of Moab, which is supported by Jerem. xlviii. 24, where Bosra is mentioned in the Burden of Moab: *Judgement is come upon . . . Bosra and upon all the cities of the land of Moab*. Yet in the Burden of Edom we have: *Bosra shall become a desolation and a reproach . . . and all her cities shall be everlasting wastes* [ibid. xlix. 13]. Therefore Bosra was identical with, or situated in, Edom. Considering the contradictions in his authorities, Langton proposes rather an ingenious solution: Bosra is the proper name of a city in Moab, and it is also an adjectival term for the region of Edom meaning 'fortified'; we know from Jerem. xlix. 16 that Edom was a land fortified with hills and caverns, *Thou that dwellest in the clefts of the rocks and endeavourest to lay hold of the height of the hill*. The glosses do not contradict one another, he maintains, because they relate to diverse meanings of the same term.

Similarly, when 'the Master in the *Histories*' disagrees with St. Jerome on a geographical problem, 'some say that the Master lies; but that is foolish; we say that there is an equivocation'.¹

This misapplication of logic seems much more wrong-headed, from the point of view of scholarship, than the system of 'either, or'. A string of alternatives at least recognizes that a problem exists and that the data to solve it are lacking. Dialectic was proving to be as bad for scholarship as for the humanities.

If we turn to a further question, how far have the three masters been influenced by Andrew's own exegesis, by his personal approach to his subject, again the answer must be 'to some extent'. We miss Andrew's adventurousness and his independence; in their quotations he has been 'watered down'. The most independent part of Andrew's commentary on the Pentateuch, his exposition of the Hexaemeron, is omitted altogether from the *Historia Scholastica*. Langton refers to it once only: on the question of how Moses got his knowledge of the Creation, he throws out a bald summary of Andrew's careful reasoning:

¹ P., fo. 112^a on Josue xv. 15: '*The name of Hebron before was called Cariath-Arbe*'. 'Et nota quod magister in hystoriis dicit in glosula quadam quod civitas illa Gebron [*sic*] dicitur "*Cariatarim*" et in Paralipomenon "*Cariatharb*". Et contra Ieronimus dicit quod Cariatarim fuit una de civitatibus Gabraonitis, ergo non fuit illa, falsum est ergo quod dicitur in illa notula. Responsio. Dicunt quidam quod magister mentitus est, sed hoc insipientis est dicere. Unde dicimus equivocationem ibi fuisse, et hec alia est ab illa quam magister ponit.' *Historia Scholastica*, P.L. cxcviii. 1270.

'Or it may be said that he learnt much from his ancestors.'¹

The Chanter quotes most of Andrew's introduction, with a little adjustment which is even more significant than omission. Where Andrew says that Moses 'altogether passes over the creation of the angels', the Chanter adds:

'... according to certain [commentators] who say that the world was created according to the distinction of twelve days, with whom Bede seems to agree, and many others; but Augustine says that things were created together, as we shall say.'²

Andrew's point had been that the creation of the angels was not explicitly mentioned at all; the Chanter manages to ignore this statement by confusing it with the *simul* question. Still, he is more faithful to his original than Hugh of St. Cher, who, in quoting Andrew, changes 'altogether passes over' into 'treats of'.³ Again, in the book of Numbers, where all three masters make constant use of Andrew, each one omits his statement that the Jews refer Balaam's prophecy to their Messiah. On the reading Num. xxiv. 15 . . . *the man whose eye is stopped up hath said* . . ., Langton omits Andrew's rash suggestion: the Vulgate makes nonsense, let us prefer Origen and the Hebrew;⁴ the Comestor and the Chanter manipulate him:

'The Hebrew and Origen's translation have: "whose eye is opened". But the sense is the same; for while he slept, he saw in dreams what he was saying; hence his bodily *eye* was *stopped up*, the *eye* of his mind was *opened*.'⁵

Yet the manipulation itself shows a critical spirit: while admiring Andrew, the three masters take him with a pinch of salt. We notice the critical sense of the Victorines again in the Comestor, when he warns his pupils against an apocryphal tradition.⁶ We notice, too, that the Comestor's

¹ P., fo. 2^d: '... et prius nota quod dicitur in glosa que sic incipit: *sicut Paulus etc.* Ita enim queritur quomodo Moyses scivit mundi exordium; per revelationem Spiritus sancti. Vel potest dici quod multa didicit ab antecessoribus suis.'

² MS. Chartres 229, fo. 4^b: '... pretermittit, secundum quosdam qui dicunt mundum creatum secundum distinctionem XII dierum, quibus Beda consentire videtur, et alii multi. Augustinus tamen dicit simul creata ut dicemus.' See above, p. 105.

³ Post. in Gen. i (Paris, 1530), fo. 6^v: '... ideo de creatione angelorum, qui etiam hominibus serviunt, in principio agit.'

⁴ See above, p. 139.

⁵ *Hist. Schol.*, P.L. cxviii. 1238; MS. Balliol 23, fo. 42^c.

⁶ On the gloss 'Dicitur quod Ioseph Mariam facie ad faciem videre non

interest in the letter is drawing him towards new sources for the literal exposition. They are not scientific, but useful for teaching purposes.

It has been pointed out that both in his *Histories* and in his glosses on the Gospels, the Comestor 'lingers with predilection on what relates to biblical archaeology and liturgy'.¹ 'Biblical archaeology' is rather a grand name for the Comestor's interest in the basilicas of the Holy Land and in the holy relics. His interest in the liturgy goes deeper. The twelfth century saw the development of liturgical drama; it is very likely that the Comestor's students may have taken part in one of the scriptural plays which were produced within the framework of the holy day services; we know that one of these plays, the *Ludus Danielis*, was written (about 1140) by the students of the cathedral school at Beauvais.² The Comestor is appealing to his pupil's experience, and is entirely in the spirit of his century, when he dwells on the historical and dramatic character of the liturgy. It is a mirror to Scripture. He refers them from the sacred page to the Mass, the offices, the processions, where they can see the same events represented; he shows how Scripture is re-enacted in the liturgy. There is no need to give examples from the *Histories* as they are readily accessible; instead we will quote from his first lecture on St. Matthew, where he strikes the keynote; he illustrates the meaning of *evangelium*, 'good tidings', by the reading of the Gospel at Mass, and shows how the passage from the Old Testament to the New is expressed by the Church:

'To teach this threefold pre-eminence of the Gospel, the Church does three things when the Gospel is read. To mark the revelation of things prefigured, she hears the Gospel with head uplifted. To mark the fulfilment of promises, she hears

poterat . . . de quo hic non agitur.' to Matt. i. 25 *Et non cognoscebat eam . . .*' MS. Laud Misc. 291, fo. 9^b: 'Tradunt quidam, sed non est autenticum, quod de facie beate Virginis quamdiu pregnans erat egrediebantur radii splendoris, et adeo habebat igneam faciem ut in eam non posset Ioseph dirigere oculorum aciem, et ita non cognoscebat eam quia non potuit eam intueri. Satis potuit sic esse, ut dicit Ieronimus. Dicitur enim in hoc libro forte de infantia Salvatoris, in quo etsi multa vera tamen respuit eum ecclesia velut apocriphum; sed non est ad hoc referendum quod hic dicitur "non cognovit".' This particular legend, which is mentioned with less detail in the *Gloss*, is not in the *Liber de Infantia Salvatoris* and it is not clear to which passage of St. Jerome the Comestor refers.

¹ A. Landgraf, 'Recherches sur les écrits de Pierre le Mangeur', *Rech. Théol. anc. méd.* iii (1931), 369.

² K. Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, ii (Oxford, 1933), 290, 395 ff.

the Gospel in silence, as though by that silence she said: 'now I get what was promised'; just as children are silent once they hold their apples. To mark the sublimity of the promises, she finishes the Gospel, full of grace and profit, with voice uplifted, whereas lessons from the Old Testament are finished with voice lowered, as though it were said: "there earthly things are promised; here supernal".¹

The Chanter and Langton use the same method. They are fond of instancing the liturgical use peculiar to a certain church, Notre Dame for example, and we get odd sidelights on ecclesiastical custom. When the Jews were endangered by Holofernes: *the altar of the Lord they covered with haircloth* [Judith iv. 8]; hence, Langton remarks, began a practice which the Church follows now when captivity threatens; she blocks up her doors with brambles and thorns.²

Another device which had its uses in the class-room was the 'concordance'. The Victorines quote parallel texts only when they think it indispensable to their exegesis. The habit of supporting every statement by authority was growing, and perhaps, before the days of proper Bible concordances, it was necessary to give the students a table of references. The system is highly evolved in Langton's glosses. He nearly always makes a list of texts suggested by the text he is expounding, or in support of his interpretation of it; these texts in turn suggest others. Sometimes the list is actually headed *concordantia*; his glosses would in effect provide a clumsy substitute for the alphabetical works which the thirteenth-century masters invented and on which we rely to-day.

The *concordantia* has been quoted as a final example of the cumbrous paraphernalia which the masters were saddled with. Langton takes a section, comprising, let us say, four verses; he gives a list of variant readings; he gives out the order of the glosses and perhaps variant readings of them too; he collects alternative explanations (I have known him suggest six for one text, three of which he prefers); he solves

¹ MS. Laud Misc. 291, fo. 1^a: 'Ad insinuandam hanc triplicem evangelii pre-eminentiam, tria facit ecclesia cum legitur evangelium. Ad ostendendum enim quod per evangelium facta est figurarum revelatio, audit evangelium capite relevato; ad ostendendum quod in evangelio facta est promissorum impletio, audit evangelium cum silentio, ac si ipso silentio dicat: iam optineo promissa. Solent enim pueri silere postquam tenent poma . . .'

² MS. Exeter College 23, fo. 10^a: 'Ecce ex hoc sumpsit initium quod modo imminente captivitate geritur ab ecclesia, scil. portas ecclesie spinis et vepribus obstruere.'

questions arising from the glosses and their 'originals', and perhaps from the *Histories*, as a rule by 'concording' them; he makes a table of related texts, a 'concordance'; after that he still has to plod through it, according to the spiritual senses, all over again. By the time he has finished, we have forgotten what he said about the section before. All continuity in the explanation of the sacred writer's meaning has disappeared.

Medieval readers of the Langton glosses seem to have been as overwhelmed as we are, both by their length and by their miscellaneous character. They solved the problem by making various kinds of extracts, their most effective method being to separate the literal exposition from the spiritual. For almost every book of Langton's glosses, one of the *reportationes* has been found in three forms; we have (i) the complete form, the original, which contains both literal and spiritual expositions, and also (ii) the literal and (iii) the spiritual, disentangled and each copied out separately.¹ Hence, in a number of manuscripts, we can read through the literal exposition consecutively without being disturbed by the sudden switch-over to allegory and morality. What we should call the 'serious' exegesis has been detached from the homiletics.² This gives us a set of comments which may fairly be compared with Andrew's, since they deal only with the letter, just as his do.

The two scholars make a striking contrast, as we have been led to expect. Though Andrew, like Langton, treats his book as a series of isolated sentences, his singleness of aim and his rapidity make his comments hang together. He is brisk where Langton is tedious. Andrew's exposition moves easily, where Langton's is clogged and disconnected, his goodwill and interest failing to master his over-elaborate apparatus. Perhaps a subject is bound to lose some of its vitality when it gets inserted into a university curriculum. The Victorine tradition of scholarship had to pay a price for its transmission, and it could only live by passing into the schools.

¹ 'Studies on the Commentaries', 152-60. Unfortunately we do not know when, where, or by whom these extracts were made. The same division is found amongst most of the other Langton glosses, which I have examined since the 'Studies' were published.

² The gloss on Ruth is printed *in extenso* in three columns, showing the three different forms, 'full', 'literal' and 'spiritual'. *Ibid.*, 86-126.

III. THE SPIRITUAL EXPOSITION

'Holy Scripture is God's dining room, where the guests are made soberly drunk. . . . History is the foundation . . . allegory the wall . . . tropology the roof . . .' (Prologue to the *Historia Scholastica*).¹

'Why do you spend money for that which is not bread? [Isa. lv. 2]. You, that is, who follow the letter which killeth, not caring for the spiritual sense, and its fair morality, but for a superfluity of gloss . . .' (The Chanter on Isaias).²

'Thy silver is turned into dross [Isa. i. 22]. . . . This is the silver of which it is said: *The words of the Lord are pure words: as silver tried by the fire* [Ps. xi. 7]. Scholars turn it *into dross* when they abandon tropological and moral questions and pursue curious ones.' (Langton on Isaias).³

Our three masters, faithful to the Victorine tradition, believe in the superiority of the spiritual sense. It is better than the literal, better than theological questioning. Their *lectio* is a near cousin to the monastic *collatio*.⁴ The 'master of the sacred page' corresponds to the abbot and feels sure that his vocation is just as dignified. Robert Courson, the Chanter's pupil, argues in his *summa* that: 'he who lectures publicly on Holy Scripture has taken a way of greater perfection than a monk of Clairvaux.'⁵ Like the abbot, the master will put his trust in the spiritual senses. After the literal and theological exposition of his text he will turn to the spiritual, which makes the sacred pages edifying.⁶ But

¹ P. L. cxcviii. 1053. The Comestor refers to the 'sober drunkenness' of the mystics.

² MS. Brussels 252, fo. 156^v: '. . . qui sequimini litteram occidentem, non intellectum curantes spiritualement nec pulcritudinem et moralitatem sed glose superfluitatem.'

³ MS. Laud Misc. 149, fo. 4^o: 'Argentum est illud de quo: *Eloquia Domini eloquia casta*. Hoc argentum scolares in *scoriam* vertunt, cum scil. tropologicas et morales questiones relinquunt et curiosas sequuntur.'

⁴ On the *collatio* see above, p. 18.

⁵ Quoted by M. and C. Dickson, 'Le Cardinal Robert de Courson, sa vie', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, ix (1934), 73.

⁶ The Abbot Philip of Harvengt (d. 1182-3) identifies the monastic conception of *lectio divina* with the academic *lectio* in his advice to young Paris students: 'volo te non tam litteraliter quam spiritualiter erudiri', 'sic Scripturas capere, ut internam illarum dulcedinem diligas experiri'; 'habes quod ad refocillandum animam expedire perhibet, divinae series lectionis'; 'schola claustrum alterum dici debet'. P. L. cciii. 31, 165; 1589. Dom Berlière thought that Philip's idea of the schools was old fashioned: 'il reste fidèle aux traditions du passé, sans paraître se douter de la transformation que subit la société qui l'entoure.' 'Philippe de Harvengt Abbé de Bonne Espérance', *Rev. Bén.* ix (1892), 192. If Philip's correspondents were attending lectures by the Comestor or the Chanter, his remarks would be quite up to date.

we shall find novelty and adaptation here too. The spiritual exposition changes during the twelfth century, and nowhere more than in the class-room.

Allegory is fulfilling a new function. It is ceasing to be the learned, intellectual pursuit that it had seemed to Hugh. The lively monastic commentator, Guibert of Nogent (1053-1124), had already suggested that the allegorical sense had served its purpose; tropology, he thought, was now the more useful of the two.

'Allegory does little more than build up faith; now, by God's grace, the faith is known to all, and though we ought often to impress it and repeat it to our hearers, we ought no less, indeed much more often, to speak of what will improve their morals.'¹

Guibert was a good prophet. The systematic teaching of theology made allegory less valuable as an educational method in the schools. The twelfth century, however, saw a great revival of popular preaching; allegory could be used for instructing the laity, for presenting to them the Church and her sacraments in a concrete and intelligible form. The old Alexandrian conception of allegory as a way of imparting secrets, unfit for the simple, was becoming antiquated.

We can trace the change in vernacular homilies. Aelfric, whose homilies (written 990-4) were intended for preaching,² keeps on the whole to the literal sense. He refuses to expound the Gospel genealogy on the feast of our Lady's Nativity because it would involve him in allegory:

'This day's gospel is also very difficult for laymen to understand; it is all chiefly occupied with names of holy men, and they require a very long exposition according to the ghostly sense; therefore we leave it unsaid.'³

The Augustinian canon, Orm, who wrote Gospel homilies in a dialect of the north-east midlands, probably in the first years of the thirteenth century, gave as his purpose 'that simple men might understand the doctrines of the Church'. He teaches them these doctrines by means of elaborate allegory and number symbolism.⁴ Orm's idea of what was suitable for 'simple men' differed profoundly from Aelfric's.

¹ *Liber quo ordine sermo fieri debet*, P.L. clvi. 26.

² K. Sisam, 'Aelfric's Catholic Homilies', *Review of English Studies*, vii (1931), 16; viii (1932), 58.

³ Ed. Thorpe, ii. 466.

⁴ The *Ormulum* survives in one manuscript, probably the author's. J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050-1400* (London, Oxford, 1916), 282-3; *Supplement*, ii. 1058.

Allegory, it was admitted, might be beyond the capacity of parish priests; they ought 'at least' to expound the literal sense to their flocks.¹ The manuals for preachers which were multiplied in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries sought to remedy this deficiency; they class the four senses as one of a number of devices for sermon making.

Even in preaching or writing for clerks, allegory could still be used, not so much to instruct as to kindle devotion. It could express to perfection the brightly coloured religious sentiment of the twelfth century. Hence it shows a tendency to become less abstract, more personal and descriptive, which culminates in commentaries on the *Canticum*, written in honour of our Lord's humanity and of his Mother.² But as Guibert of Nogent predicted, tropology had the more brilliant future. This third sense was able to satisfy the consuming and universal passion of the twelfth century, its appetite for satire.

An age which is 'fundamentally sure of itself' loves to be satirized. Believing in the divinely established office of its rulers and pastors, it enjoys hearing about their shortcomings. The same for each rank of the social ladder; every person has his recognized function and only needs rousing to fulfil it. So the preacher 'holds a mirror' to society; he shows people what they are, and what they ought to be; they for their part delight in a spectacle which is both funny and edifying.

Tropology was easily adaptable to satire. Like allegory, it became more concrete. Instead of dealing mainly with the virtues and vices at war in the individual soul, it described external things, such as the behaviour of groups, or types, and religious and social abuses.³ It now drew its inspiration

¹ 'Litteratura pollere debetis, ut saltem litteralem sensum gregi vobis subdito exponatis.' Mr. R. W. Hunt kindly gave me this reference from a sermon of Alexander Nequam.

² B. Gigalski, 'Bruno Bischof von Segni', *Kirchengesch. Stud.* (1898), III. iv. 210 ff.; J. A. Endres, *Honorius Augustodunensis* (Munich, 1906), 16 ff. Typical works of this kind are commentaries on the *Canticum* by Philip of Harvenget and Alan of Lisle. *P.L.* cciii. 181; ccx. 51.

³ The desire of twelfth-century commentators to find in Scripture a reflection of society, *ecclesia in statu presente*, is stressed by W. Kamlah in his interesting study: 'Apokalypse und Geschichtstheologie', *Hist. Stud.* 285 (Berlin, 1935). Satire predominates over the eschatological significance of the Apocalypse. See especially 63-4: 'Nicht einmal die Frage, was zur Zeit des Johannes schon Vergangenheit und was noch Zukunft war findet Interesse. Man will eben nicht wissen, "wie es gewesen ist", und auch nicht, wie es im einzelnen sein wird, sondern wie es immer ist.'

less from St. Gregory's *Moralia* and more from his *Rules of Pastoral Care*. Just as allegory demanded a warm imagination, so tropology called for humour and keen observation.

The fourth sense, the anagogical or mystical, was still recognized by the Paris masters. Peter Lombard substitutes it for the allegorical in his classification of the senses:

'The historical sense is easier, the moral sweeter, the mystical sharper; the historical is for beginners, the moral for the advanced, the mystical for the perfect.'¹

As this sense treats of the mystical union between God and the soul, it is used in the cloister rather than the class-room. The twelfth-century mystics expand its technique in order to describe their religious experiences.²

A language will develop when important new things are to be said. This alone will explain the exuberance of the queer language of the spiritual senses. Both *scholares* and *claustrales* were bursting with new ideas. They expressed themselves most naturally in concrete images; their imagination was 'visual'; and they prized the support of authority beyond everything. The language of the spiritual senses provided both the imagery and the authority. Hence they exploited its resources to the uttermost. They increased its range and made it more flexible; they compiled 'spiritual dictionaries'. The spiritual exposition had its 'aids to study', just as the literal exposition and theology had theirs.

The spiritual dictionary of the twelfth century still needs investigating.³ Further research would give us a much clearer understanding of a characteristic development. At present we are hampered by anonymity and lack of dates; we cannot find the original impulse. The most highly evolved form of the spiritual dictionary is the *distinctio*; we must touch on this, since it is of great importance in a study of the twelfth-century class-room.

¹ In a sermon on 1 Reg. x, *P.L.* clxxii. 438; B. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, xxxii b (1888), 121.

² The mystical sense is closely connected with the allegorical, because meditations on allegory lead on to mystical contemplation. See F. Petit, *Ad viros religiosos: quatorze sermons d'Adam Scot* (Tongerloo, 1934), 28; 94. It is sharply distinguished from the moral sense by Gilbert of Holland. Continuing the sermons on the Canticle after St. Bernard's death, he confesses his inability to expound in the mystical sense; he will confine himself to the moral. *P.L.* clxxx. 22; see E. Gilson, *La Théologie mystique de St Bernard* (Paris, 1934), 85 n.

³ See the suggestive remarks of Dom Wilmart, 'Les Allégories attribuées à Raban Maur', *Rev. Bén.* (1920), 47-56. A selection of these works was published by J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense* (Paris, 1852-8), ii, iii.

The *distinctio* has a long pedigree, going back on one hand to alternative interpretations of the same word in patristic commentaries, on the other to lists of biblical words with their meanings,¹ like the *Formulae Spiritualis Intelligentiae* of St. Eucher of Lyons,² and the *Clavis Scripturae* of the pseudo Melito.³ As M. Gilson has pointed out, all these attempts at systematization fulfil an expressed wish of St. Augustine's *De Doctrina Christiana*.⁴ The *distinctio* is new in that it schematizes. Some one had the brilliant idea of making a table of meanings for each word, according to three or four senses, and illustrating each meaning by a text. This has been described as 'the simplest form' of the *distinctio*. It may either be written out or arranged 'schematically', like the following example, a *distinctio* on the word *bed*:

There is a bed	{	of Scripture— <i>Our bed is flourishing</i> [Cant. i. 15].
		of contemplation— <i>There shall be two men in one bed</i> [Lk. xvii. 34].
		of the Church— <i>Three score valiant ones surrounded the bed of Solomon</i> [Cant. iii. 7].
		of conscience— <i>Every night I will wash my bed</i> [Ps. vi. 7].
		of carnal pleasure— <i>You that sleep upon beds of ivory</i> [Amos vi. 4].
		of eternal punishment— <i>I have made my bed in darkness</i> [Job xvii. 13].
		of eternal blessedness— <i>My children are with me in bed</i> [Lk. xi. 7].

Here *bed of scripture* is the historical sense (the literal meaning of the Canticle being metaphorical); *bed of contemplation* and *bed of the Church* the allegorical senses; *bed of conscience* and *bed of pleasure* the moral senses; *bed of eternal punishment* or *eternal blessedness* the anagogical senses.⁵ A medieval scholar would recognize allusions to well-known passages in the Fathers, where all these spiritual meanings were explained.

This 'skeleton' *distinctio* could be elaborated by listing the properties or qualities of the thing designated by the word,

¹ G. Lacombe, *La Vie et les œuvres de Prévostin*, op. cit. (p. 169, n. 1), 112 ff.; P. S. Moore, op. cit. (p. 169, n. 2), 78 ff. These two studies are the most recent discussions of the *distinctio*.

² See above, p. 16, n. 4.

³ Compiled from the works of St. Augustine, St. Gregory, and other Latin Fathers, probably in the eighth century. Pitra found it in a Greek translation, and took it for a lost work of St. Melito of Sardis (Pitra, op. cit. ii. i-xc; O. Bardenheuer, *Gesch. der altkirchlichen Literatur*, i (Freiburg i. Br., 1913), 463.

⁴ *Introduction à l'étude de St Augustin* (Paris, 1931), 152, n. 1.

⁵ I borrow the *distinctio* and its explanation from P. S. Moore, 79-81.

and the interpretations which they suggested. It was a convenient way of grouping together the lore of natural history and the legends of the bestiary: the raven is black, he feeds on carrion, he cries 'cras cras'; hence he signifies the wicked, blackened with sin, who feed on vanity, who procrastinate.¹ And so on.

Collections of *distinctiones* were made, sometimes arranged alphabetically, like the Chanter's *Summa Abel*,² and the *Distinctiones Monasticae* (perhaps by the English Cistercian, Ralph of Coggeshall),³ sometimes arranged as a commentary on the text of the Psalter, like the *Distinctiones super Psalterium* by Prepositinus and Peter of Poitiers.

Our earliest collections seem to belong to the last quarter of the twelfth century and to be the work of Paris masters. They were hailed with joy, as supplying a long-felt need. We hear the delighted appreciation of Peter, Prior of Holy Trinity, Aldgate, when he learnt of the new method in a sermon preached by Gilbert Foliot at a synod; I reproduce it with the comments of Peter's editor:⁴

'“The whole sermon was varied by certain *distinctiones*, adorned with flowers of words and sentences and supported by a copious array of authorities. It ran backwards and forwards on its path from its starting-point back to the same starting-point.” He then gives an example. When Gilbert spoke of Christ as a stone, he brought forward the stone which the builders rejected, which is become the head of the corner, he brought forward the stone which Jacob set up for a pillar and on top of which he poured oil, he brought forward the stone that was cut out of the mountain without hands. Peter was so much struck with this method that he determined to write a work in which the *lector studiosus* might find all such passages collected together and arranged. This is really important because it is an early example of the *distinctio* method. . . . It is unusual to get such a close view of the way in which a typical medieval form was transmitted.'

We can sympathize with Peter's welcome to the *distinctio*; it was both suggestive and labour-saving. You simply chose a key word in the text to be expounded, and looked up its

¹ This particular *distinctio* is taken from Langton's gloss on Genesis viii. 6. P., fo. 11^a.

² Pitra, op. cit. ii. xxviii.

³ Ibid., iii. 452; G. Morin, 'Le Cistercien Ralph de Coggeshall et l'auteur des *Distinctiones Monasticae*', *Rev. Bén.* xlvii (1935), 348 ff.

⁴ R. W. Hunt, 'English learning in the late twelfth century', op. cit. (p. 58, n. 2), 33-4.

distinctio in your collection; whether you needed an idea, or an allegory or trope for an idea already present, something in the table would be sure to help you.

Comparing the spiritual exposition of the biblical-moral school with Hugh of St. Victor's, we shall find the content more original and the technique more artificial. The first is due to a difference in aim; the masters are intending not to help the religious in his meditations, but to train the scholar for an active career. The difference in technique is due to the rapid technical development of the twelfth century, especially the rise of the *distinctio*. As we should expect, the contrast between St. Victor and the Paris class-room is most marked in Stephen Langton, both because he was a great statesman and man of action, and because he was the youngest of our three scholars, working at the end of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century. We will therefore concentrate on the Langton glosses. They represent the supreme achievement of the moral sense in the Paris *lectio*, just as St. Bernard's *Sermones in Cantica* represent that of the mystical sense in the monastic *collatio*.

We realize at once that Langton's purpose is as vigorous and coherent as St. Bernard's. Professor Powicke has shown us the inner unity of Langton's career from his study of the *Quaestiones* and their milieu. Langton was working in the centre of the ecclesiastical reform movement; Innocent III was his colleague. He discussed, from the reformer's point of view, just such practical problems, the nature of kingship, the limits of obedience, as he met with later in his dealings with John and the English barons. The glosses bear out the *Quaestiones*. They show us how, week in and week out, Langton was impressing the reformer's point of view on his students; they were the prelates of the future; he was preparing them for their task.

This is the ideal that he sets before them. The monastic *lectio* leads up to contemplation, Langton's to action:

'The word of the Lord must be turned into deed, we must act upon what we have read or heard.'¹

The Paris masters admitted in their discussions of the action versus contemplation question that contemplation was better

¹ On Gen. iii. 19, MS. Lincoln College, Oxford, 15, fo. 109^d: 'Per hoc innuit quod verbum Dei debet converti in opus ut quandoque operemur secundum quod audivimus et legimus.'

than action 'in essence'; but many of them felt that the life of the prelate, which combined action and contemplation, was the most excellent life of all. Robert Pullus,¹ perhaps Peter Comestor² and Gerald of Wales³ held this opinion, and Langton agrees. He compares the solitude of the cloister to Paradise before the creation of Eve:

*'It is not good for man to be alone [Gen. ii. 18]; man is "alone" when he is away from the turmoil of the world; thus monks and holy men build for themselves solitudes. It is not good says the Lord for such a man, a contemplative, to be alone, without a companion; it is best that he should become active. Let us make him a help like unto himself, that is a people subject to him, who will minister to his temporal as he to their spiritual needs.'*⁴

This is Langton's way of telling his students that man was meant to express himself in the art of government.

He defends the *activi* against the attitude of certain contemplatives 'who think that they alone have, as it were, purchased God' by renouncing the world.⁵ The seculars number many fervent lovers of God, good men who pursue worldly glory without harm to their souls. Dignity and wealth do not estrange them from God; and though they are occupied now with the things of this world, hereafter they shall enter heaven in the abundance of their good works.⁶ When some attain to the honours of prelacy we must not impute it to ambition; their aim is to serve the Church, to root out vice and restore their erring subjects to the right

¹ *Sententiae*, viii. cxxi-xxv. P.L. clxxxvi. 933.

² B. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, op. cit. (p. 157, n. 3), iii. 26.

³ Quoted by F. M. Powicke, *Stephen Langton*, 132-3.

⁴ My translation is a conflation of two versions:

(a) P., fo. 7^c: 'Nota homo *solus* est quando separatus est a strepitu mundi scil. quando edificat sibi solitudinem in claustro, et de claustrali quando est disertus et discretus sepe fit prelatus. Unde hic dicitur: *non est bonum hominem claustralem esse solum*, sed optimum est ut fiat activus; faciamus ei adiutorium plebem simile sibi.'

(b) MS. Lincoln College, Oxford, 15, fo. 105^a: 'Vel homo *solus* est qui extra strepitum mundi est, unde claustrales et viri sancti edificant sibi solitudines. *Non est bonum* dicit Dominus *hominem* talem *esse solum* quasi sine comite; *faciamus ei adiutorium simile sibi* i.e. plebem subditam que adiuvet eum ministrando carnalia et adiuvetur ab eo recipiendo spiritualia.'

⁵ T., fo. 88^d: 'Hoc contra illos claustrales qui cum videant seculares clericos vel laicos bonis temporalibus affluentes et mollibus et pretiosis vestibus indutos, credunt se solos quasi Deum emisse, eo quod talibus sponte carent.'

⁶ P., fo. 179^d [on 1 Mach. xi. 51]: '... licet gloriam assequantur in mundo, per dignitatem, per opulentiam tamen, non alienant se a Deo. Licet quandoque que mundi sunt agant, tamen *ingrediuntur Ierusalem* in visionem vere pacis, cum *spoliis*, i.e. in plenitudine bonorum operum.'

way.¹ Langton even warns the future pastors among his students against neglecting their subjects for the sake of contemplation. The waters of Jordan stood still while the priests who carried the ark remained in the river bed; when they were come up and began to tread on the dry ground the waters returned into the channel and ran as they were wont before [Jos. iii. 13–iv. 18].

‘So when the priest is vigilant the people stand firm and persevere; if he neglect to act *even for the sake of contemplation*, they often return to their old course.’²

Their pastoral zeal, Langton warns his students, will be opposed by vested interests in Church and state. The reformers’ programme was the regeneration of society by an independent, reorganized Church; the prelates who were to effect this reform must be theologians, trained for pastoral care. The secular rulers stood in the way; they bestowed high offices in the church on civil servants, trained in the royal court, who would be politically reliable. These ‘curial bishops’, in the reformers’ opinion, treated their office not as a duty but as a perquisite. The storm raised by his own appointment as archbishop, which brought England under the interdict, was due to a difference in outlook between secular powers and ecclesiastical reformers which Langton had often explained to his pupils.³

Scholars must reprove these vested interests. The duties of the Old Testament prophets are now theirs. God’s command to Osee to rebuke Israel: *Judge her, judge your mother*, is addressed to them, Langton tells them:

‘This is said to students, when they leave their studies and

¹ P., fo. 149^d: ‘. . . ita cum aliqui ad dignitatem prelationis ascendunt, reputantur a pluribus hoc causa ambitionis fecisse, tamen hoc fecerunt ut ecclesie prodesse, ut vitia destruerent, et subditos oberrantes in viam rectam reducerent.’

² MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 355, fo. 182^a: ‘. . . quando vero sacerdotes vigilanter agunt, tunc populus stat et perseverat, sed cum negligunt actionem, etiam propter contemplationem, sepe fluit populus.’

³ In practice, the scholar-bishops of the thirteenth century do seem to have been more active as reformers than the *curiales* and the monks. Miss Gibbs, in her study of the personnel of the English episcopate under Henry III, contrasts the record of the various types of bishop and she concludes: ‘. . . on the whole, the contribution of the *magistri* to the life of their time was more original and substantial and many-sided than that of the other groups; their influence was more penetrating and certainly their memories more deep-rooted in the sympathies of ordinary people.’ M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform* (Oxford, 1934), 50.

return to the people from which they were born; they must judge her, not as a whore or an enemy, but as their mother.¹

Like Amos, they must expect persecution when they do this. Just as the high priest of Bethel accused Amos to Jeroboam [Amos vii. 10-13], so the curial bishop will ally himself with his patron against the reformer. The traitor within the hierarchy is the real villain of the piece.

'*Amasius* is interpreted "robust and cold". He typifies a bad priest or any bad greedy prelate, robust in evil and cold in good, a stranger to the fire of charity. For a whore, or a little worldly gain, he is ready to go two leagues or more on a winter's night; to hear a poor man's last confession he will not leave his table even for a few minutes. . . . When he sees someone rightly preaching the way of truth, which he fears will put a stop to his evil ways, he keeps quiet about his own grievance, though this is his chief concern, and accuses the preacher to his king or prince, that he may seem to grieve at the disrespect to the king and incite him to vengeance. But notice that Jeroboam dismissed the accusation as frivolous, which shows that prelates are far wickedder than secular princes. Although the prince scorns the bad priest's false accusations, he does not desist from evil. *And Amasius said to Amos: Thou seer* you prophet and learned doctor who threaten us so terribly in your preaching *go, flee away into the land of Juda*; leave my bishopric or my parish, go back to your studies at Paris; *eat bread there and prophesy there*; keep your teaching and preaching to Paris. *In Bethel*, that is in my bishopric, *prophesy not any more*, that is preach no more. Your rebukes offend the king; this place belongs to him; it is his to choose and dispose of the parsons of this church. Bad prelates are wont to say: "The emperor or king delegates to us; we do this by his authority and privilege".²

The good prelate, on the contrary, follows the example of St. Thomas Becket;³ his prototype is Jonathan in the book of Machabees:

' . . . he does not cease through fear of death to rebuke princes who attack the Church; he fears not to throw himself into the

¹ T., fo. 9^c: 'Hoc studentibus dicitur, ut si quando a studio revertantur matrem suam, i.e. gentem de qua nati sunt, iudicent; sed non ut hostem vel ut novercam, sed ut matrem.'

² T., fo. 92^{c-d}. The Latin is given in 'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses', 73.

³ P., fo. 170^b on two texts, 2 Esdras vi. 3, 11, Langton compares Nehemias to St. Thomas Becket, quoting his letter to Foliot: 'clavum tenco et me ad sompnum vocas', and his refusal to bar the doors against his murderers. *Materials for the History of Thomas à Becket*, ed. Giles (Rolls Series), v. 515; iv. 75.

breach to defend her freedom; on her behalf he demands of the prince that he may enjoy his rightful privilege.¹

Ecclesiastical freedom, like the liberty that the Jews won from the Romans, should be *registered in tables of brass* [1 Mach. xiv. 26].²

Langton is using tropology in order to set his own *Weltanschauung* before his pupils; one can find a complete picture of society, seen through his eyes, if one studies his spiritual exposition in detail. At the same time, he instructs them in a special aspect of their future duties, the task of preaching. It is the master's duty, he tells them, to incite his promising pupils to preach. This is an interesting passage from the point of view of university customs; Langton moralizes the story of Ruth; she signifies the student; the harvest-field is *lectio sacra*, the reapers the masters. Ruth *desired leave* to glean [ii. 7], because prayer should always be the preamble to a lecture; *she stood in the field*, attended the lecture that she might carry away (or 'report'; the word is *reportet*) in her bosom the ears, that is the sentences of the lesson. Booz, who signifies God, charged her not *to glean in any other field*, [8] that is, not to change over from theology to any other faculty.³ Booz asked of the young man that was set over the reapers: *Whose maid is this?* [5]. When a student industriously gathers up the sentences of Holy Scripture at his lectures, the Lord inquires his status from the reapers, that is the doctors, when they call upon him to preach.⁴ This seems to be a reference to the final examination and the inaugural lecture at the new master's inception.

Langton impresses on his pupils that they must preach to the laity also, and not confine themselves to their own cultured circle. A popular sermon is often more repaying to

¹ P., fo. 178^d on 1 Mach. xi. 2: 'Hic Jonathan est prelatus bonus; non cessat pro timore mortis principes degrassantes in ecclesiam corripere, nec formidat se discrimini obicere pro libertate ecclesie. . . . In munitionem ecclesie postulat prelatus a principe ut possit debito privilegio gaudere.'

² P., fo. 182^d: 'Libertas excelsa viris ecclesiasticis tabulis ereis debet scribi, i.e. indelibiliter consummari, ut possint tranquillitatis gaudere privilegio.'

³ The glosses abound in warnings to students not to desert theology for the lucrative sciences, civil and canon law. This is to starve the laity who are left without teachers. T., fo. 94^c: '*Nobiles interierunt fame et multitudo siti exaruit* [Isa. v. 13]: *Nobiles* sunt litterati qui cum habeant perspicax ingenium, acutissimam rationem et memoriam tenacem, et ita bene possunt sacre scripture masticare solidum cibum, *intereunt fame* cum per leges et decreta et ceteras scientias lucrativas famem sedare laborant; et ex hoc provenit quod *multitudo laicorum siti exaruit*, et exarescit, non habens qui ei ministret vel propinet simplicis intelligentie sacre scripture potum.'

⁴ The Latin is printed in 'Studies on the Commentaries', 100.

the preacher. *Samgar . . . slew of the Philistines six hundred men with a ploughshare*, whereas Aod slew only one man with his sharp sword [Jud. iii]:

'See! This makes clear that a preacher should not always use polished, subtle preaching, like Aod's sword, but sometimes a ploughshare, that is, rude, rustic exhortation. Very often a popular story [*exemplum vulgare*] is more effective than a polished, subtle phrase. Aod killed one man only with a two-edged sword, Samgar six hundred with a ploughshare; so, whereas the laity are easily converted by rude, unpolished preaching, a sermon to clerks will draw scarcely one of them from his error.'¹

The popular sermon and the sermon to clerks are like two kinds of grain, barley and wheat; wheat is the more precious, barley much the more fertile and useful.² The *breasts* of Osee's curse [ix. 14] signify the two Testaments which are *dry* in a man who does not draw from them the milk of simple doctrine, as in those who seldom or never preach to the people but only to religious or clerks.³

Langton, himself a famous preacher, gives his students practical directions; they must have 'reported' innumerable devices for sermon-making. The glosses are sprinkled over with notes, pointing out the suitability of certain themes for particular kinds of sermons.⁴ The allegorical exposition suggests special feast days and seasons: *Sermo in Nativitate Domini*, *Sermo in festo Omnium Sanctorum*, *Sermo in Adventu*. These sections are mainly devotional. More than once Langton quotes from the sequence, *Salve mater Salvatoris* of 'Master Adam of St. Victor', thus happily putting its attribution to Adam beyond doubt:

Thou art the throne of Solomon,
throne without equal
in substance or art;

¹ 'Studies on the Commentaries', 173.

² T., fo. 64^b: 'Quid per frumentum nisi doctrina sive predicatio clericis proposita? Quid per ordeum nisi predicatio laicis proposita? Que quamvis grossior longe tamen fertilior et utilior quam predicatio clericis facta.'

³ Ibid., fo. 46^a: ' . . . sicut quidam faciunt qui vix aut nunquam faciunt sermonem ad populum, sed ad clericos vel ad claustrales.'

⁴ Perhaps these notes were not in the original *reportationes* of Langton's lectures. They are sometimes in the margins, sometimes in the text; sometimes the same note will be in both. Some copies of the same gloss have more notes than others. But they certainly go back to an early tradition: MS. Troyes 1046, the copy of the gloss on the Minor Prophets dated 1203 (see above, p. 182), has several notes: *Sermo ad prelatos et principes*; *Thema ad claustrales*; which are in the text.

white ivory of chastity,
red gold of charity
foreshadow mysteries.¹

Langton's allegorical exposition consists, for the most part, in comparisons of this kind. In prose, and elaborately worked out, they lose the charm with which Adam invests them and make one either yawn or shudder. Nevertheless, they are raw material for an *Histoire du Sentiment Religieux*.

In the moral sections the notes prescribe the 'morality' as suitable for some special audience: *Sermo ad claustrales*; *Sermo ad moniales*; *Sermo in synodo*. Or we have even more concrete suggestions. The gloss on the fall of Holofernes is noted as 'an excellent theme on the death of some powerful worldling by whose fate others may be instructed'.² On Isa. xi. 8: *the weaned child shall thrust his hand into the den of the basilisk*, Langton explains that the *basilisk* is the devil, *the weaned child* the religious, who is *weaned* from love of the world; he alone dares to *thrust his hand* into the basilisk's den, that is the cloister, that he may pluck the devil from his heart. Only the *weaned* can do so. It was customary, at the opening of a solemn sermon, for the preacher to protest his own unworthiness; so Langton continues:

'This may be said to religious, to excuse oneself at the beginning of the sermon.'³

One sees a slight flick of the eyelid, and one wonders whether many religious audiences were charmed to attention by this exordium.

The story of Sisara and Jahel, the wife of Haber the Cinite [Jud. iv. 17-18], suggests a theme for a popular sermon. Jahel, who came of hostile stock, and yet befriended Israel, signifies St. Mary Magdalen. Just as Sisara, a Gentile, took refuge in her tent and she received him, saying: *come in, fear not*, so the sinner feels more assurance in entering a church dedicated to the Magdalen or some other saint who was converted from sin. He feels that such a saint will

¹ MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 384, fo. 192^a: 'Unde in illa sequentia magistri Ade sancti Victoris *Salve mater salvatoris*.' It is quoted again as *quedam sequentia* in MS. Exeter Coll. Oxford 23, fo. 19^b. He also ascribes the Easter sequence *Zyma vetus expurgetur* to Adam of St. Victor: MS. Rawl. C. 427, fo. 2^d. This is attributed to Adam by Alan of Lisle. Cf. F. J. Raby, *A History of Christian Latin Poetry* (Oxford, 1927), 353, 367, where the authorship of these two sequences is examined.

² MS. Exeter Coll. Oxford 23, fo. 15^d.

³ MS. Laud Misc. 149, fo. 31^d: '... hoc potest dici claustralibus in principio sermonis ad se excusandum.'

sympathize with him and be the more easily moved to compassion. This is noted as 'Sermon on the feast of the Magdalen or Matthew or some saint who was a sinner'.¹ If this theme were ever used, let us hope that the audience was too simple to remember how the story of Jahel ends.

These moral sections often contain the elements of a popular sermon. They have all the humour and the devices for capturing attention, which make twelfth-century homilies such racy reading. Langton, as he tells us repeatedly, believes in mixing grave and gay, and he has succeeded. Both he and the Chanter use popular proverbs: 'We shall know in the judgement who is bald and who has kept his hair';² 'swimming is easy when somebody holds your chin up';³ Langton moralizes this proverb, saying that the devil offers to hold up our chins, as we struggle in the sea of this world, and urges us to 'take it easily'. Our masters also like little jingles that impress some pious thought upon the memory, and they tell moral anecdotes or *exempla*.

The appearance of *exempla* in their glosses is highly significant. It emphasizes their intention. The *exemplum* had not been unknown in learned works before the twelfth century;⁴ but the clergy had regarded it as a method especially designed for instructing the laity. Thus William of Malmesbury in his life of St. Wulfstan of Worcester describes a sermon preached at the dedication of a church:

'The bishop was addressing these things to the people; and so of necessity he introduced *exempla*; but I [the author] am addressing men of letters; what I say is too well known to need exemplifying.'⁵

Langton, too, contrasts the *exemplum vulgare* of the popular sermon with the 'polished phrase' of the sermon to clerks.⁶

Both the anonymous pupil of Abailard, commenting on St. Paul about 1141, and the Comestor, make some use of the *exemplum*.⁷

So far as I know the Chanter is the first master who

¹ MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 384, fo. 92^b.

² The Chanter on Isaïas, MS. Brussels 252, fo. 16^v: 'Unde dicitur vulgo: Apparebit in iudicio quis calvus fuerit et quis capillatus.'

³ MS. Rawl. C. 427, fo. 27^b: 'Suaviter natat cui mentum tenetur.'

⁴ J. Th. Welter, *L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du moyen âge* (Paris, 1927), ch. i.

⁵ *The Vita Wulfstani*, op. cit. (p. 92, n. 3), 38.

⁶ Above, p. 210.

⁷ See *Commentarius Cantabrigiensis*, ed. A. Landgraf, op. cit. (p. 50, n. 4), ii. 306, 316. For the Comestor, MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 446, fo. 52^b.

introduces it systematically into his lectures on Scripture. This, I think, is definitely connected with the revival of popular preaching, in which the Paris masters had a great share. When the Chanter deliberately brings a method of elementary education into the class-room he must be thinking not only of his pupils but of the lay congregations they will preach to. We know that some of the *exempla* told by Langton and the Chanter found their way into thirteenth-century sermons and into the 'example books', compiled as aids to preachers.¹ They must have been either spread by students or copied directly from the written glosses. Certainly the Paris class-room shows us the *exemplum* at its best. The element of the superstitious, the marvellous, and miraculous has little appeal for these two masters. They prefer cleverly chosen illustrations and repartee.

To this class belong the Chanter's stories of two canons of his native town, Rheims; they 'exemplify' the texts Job xx. 20 and 22: *when he hath the things he coveted, he shall not be able to possess them*. One canon got rich, and having nowhere to deposit his riches, he used to bewail his wealthiness more than he had his former poverty. *When he shall be filled he shall be straitened*: another canon put his money in a chest; so while he assisted at matins he was gnawed with anxiety about thieves; on the morrow he got rid of his money and gave it to the poor, 'in order to buy himself peace'.² A good sample of the 'repartee' type of *exemplum* is Langton's on the text Hab. ii. 11-12: *For the stone shall cry out of the wall. . . Woe to him that buildeth a town with blood*.

'A cur of a courtier to a certain king had built himself a house, marvellous in design, on the proceeds of robbery and extortion. He asked a clerk to compose a "memorial inscription" for the entrance, and the clerk did so, saying:

A house built on wrong
Will not last for long.'³

Langton's pupils must have enjoyed this story; it is the eternal theme of the poor scholar versus the business man.

Exempla, proverbs, and other devices are, so to speak, the spices of the spiritual exegesis. The real subject of the lecture

¹ B. Smalley, '*Exempla* in the Commentaries of Stephen Langton', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xviii (1933), 121-9. I have not been able to study the Chanter's *exempla* as systematically as Langton's; such a study would be of great use for the history of this very interesting literary form.

² MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15565, fo. 29^c.

³ '*Exempla* in the Commentaries of Stephen Langton', 128.

is the technique of the exegesis itself, how to 'grind the corn of Scripture into the bread of tropology'. Langton reminds one of a master craftsman, initiating his apprentices into the 'mystery' of their calling. We catch a note of professional pride in his voice. On Osee viii. 9: *Ephraim hath given gifts to her lovers* he explains that *Ephraim* signifies sinners:

'But how do sinners give gifts to their lovers? Wait and see!'¹

The comparison is particularly subtle:

'Some prostitutes take hire, others offer themselves freely, and so it is with sinners. Some find the opportunity to sin ready waiting them and these *take* hire; others seek out the opportunity; these *give* hire and offer themselves.'

The spiritual exposition, he points out to his pupils, gives him more scope than the literal. History is something that happened once for all and cannot be altered; tropology [i.e. moralization] is 'free'. The spiritual exposition may give quite an opposite sense to the literal,² one containing a threat where the other contains a promise and so on.³ Since 'spiritually' a word may be given many meanings in the same text, it is permissible in the spiritual sense to diverge from the *Gloss*. Langton will sometimes content himself with the spiritual meanings suggested by the *Gloss* on his text; sometimes he will say expressly that he is taking an independent line.⁴ All this is subject to the 'rules' of spiritual exegesis—the same rules as had been respected in the first century by Philo Judaeus. The spiritual interpretation must be based on the properties of the thing it signifies. The exegete shows his science by knowing these properties, his skill by adapting them. If his knowledge gives out, he must confess himself beaten, as Langton does on a text of Numbers: *the manna was like coriander seed* [xi. 7]:

¹ T., fo. 41^c: 'Sed quomodo peccatores dant mercedem amatoribus? Attende et videbis.'

² Ibid., fo. 138^a: 'Cernis . . . quomodo ea que secundum litteram super Caldeis interpretati sumus nunc iuxta tropologiam vide[n]tur sonare clementiam et libertatem eorum qui de Caldeorum manibus evaserunt. Historia facta est et evagandi non habet facultatem, tropologia libera.'

³ Ibid., fo. 74^c: ' . . . ad litteram est comminatio, moraliter vero est promissio.' The Comestor too comments on the superior 'freedom' of the spiritual exposition. MS. Laud Misc. 291, fo. 5^d: 'Ecce hinc potest perpendi quam laxis habenis, quam liberis evagetur spatiis allegoria, cum in fine huius glose et in alia glosa per Uriam iustum diabolus significatur.' The expression derives from St. Jerome's commentary on Isaiah 'liberis allegoriae spatiis evagatur', *Prolog. in Lib. v, P.L.* xxiv. 154.

⁴ T., fo. 159^c: 'Licet Ieronimus istum . . . accipiatur [*sic*] in malo, nos tamen moraliter accipiemus in bono.'

'We could discourse lengthily on this', he says regretfully, 'if only the nature and quality of *coriander seed* were known to us.'¹

He has to fall back on *manna*, which is 'white and shining'; hence it signifies Holy Scripture.

Sometimes Langton will collect all the known properties of a word in order to make a *distinctio*; sometimes he proceeds more briefly, basing his exegesis on one consideration only. He shows the students how to make the best of their material. If the interpretation of a Hebrew name does not give him the meaning that he wants, he shifts it round, as on the text: *If Galaad be an idol . . .* [Osee xii. 1]:

'Morally *Galaad* is interpreted "pile of witness"; but my tropology will not be taken from the interpretation [of the place-name] but from its inhabitants, the Ten Tribes, which signify the laity.'²

This second interpretation is one of Langton's favourites; he points out its appropriateness to current events: the Ten Tribes of Israel signify either the laity or the lesser clergy, in contrast to the Two Tribes of Juda, which 'generally, in this book of the Twelve Prophets, signify prelates'.³ Here Langton is giving his students a key to the topical moral interpretation of the book. He teaches them how to treasure every detail in the literal sense that may be useful. In expounding the letter, he notes that a certain point is important for the spiritual exposition: 'hoc valet ad mysterium'. Then, when he expounds the same text again in the spiritual sense, he takes this detail as his basis.

As an illustration of Langton's method we may take one trope in particular of which he never tires; it is a moralization of 4 Kings i. 2: *Ochozias fell through the lattices of his upper chamber which he had in Samaria, and was sick*. The key-word here is *Samaria*, which is interpreted *custodia*, that is, 'charge'. A dweller in Samaria, it follows, must be a prelate, one who has 'charge' of others. The house built in Samaria signifies his pastoral office, high and dignified, since it has an upper story. The lattice windows, through which little light penetrates, denote 'obscurity'; we think of the dark garrets where Langton's pupils were lodged in medieval Paris; hence *lattices* signify the perplexities of pastoral charge. *Ochozias* is a prelate, a curial bishop, who enters hastily and

¹ 'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses', 71.

² *Ibid.* 72.

³ *Ibid.* 71.

unprepared upon his office; its perplexities baffle him and bring him to grief; he 'falls through the lattices', and hurts himself; he sins grievously.¹

Here we have all the ingredients of a successful trope: the smattering of erudition, the ingenuity, the wit, and the observation. The reformer's teaching is expressed concisely, and yet so aptly as to be unforgettable. Tropology may be a pseudo-science; it is at least alive. Conventions which were venerable to Philo seem to have renewed themselves in the Paris schools. The symbolism of the later middle ages has rightly been called decadent:

'Symbolism was in fact played out. Finding symbols and allegories had become a meaningless intellectual pastime, shallow fancifulness resting on a single analogy.'²

The symbol tyrannized, burying things under a weight of associations, which prevented freshness of perception. But in the twelfth century this is not yet true. With Langton, the thought is still mistress of the language; symbolism is her tool which she chooses and sharpens.

When this has been recognized, the corollary would seem to be that Langton has perfected the art of making the Scriptures say exactly what he pleases. We enjoy his trope because it is 'pure Langton'. It has purpose and meaning. It is not exegesis. We are face to face now with the question which has lain in wait for us since the beginning of the chapter.

We have seen that Langton gives his pupils certain rules for the technique of the spiritual exposition. Does he give any guidance as to its content? This seems to us to be wholly subjective. How far would Langton agree with us? Suppose that a pupil were to object that Ochozias ought to represent not a curial, but a scholar bishop, betrayed by his lack of political experience; how would Langton answer him? Does he, in fact, take the spiritual exposition quite seriously?

It is rather like asking what a medieval writer felt about plagiarism or forgery; but we must attempt an answer; and we must begin by distinguishing between the allegorical and the moral sense.

¹ T., ff. 33^a, 89^b, 208^a.

² J. Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1927), 189. Prof. G. Owst in his study of medieval preaching, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), *Pulpit & Literature in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1933), seems to me to miss the distinction between the sermons of the twelfth century, which are fresh, and later ones which are often stale and second-hand.

Langton actually tells us of a man who raised our own objection to the allegorical interpretation. On hearing that the red colour of the cow, which the Law commanded as a sacrifice, prefigured the blood of the Passion, this heretic said mockingly: 'It would be all the same if the cow had been black; the allegory is worthless; whatever the colour of the cow, some sort of allegory could be found for it.'¹ Langton mentions this only as an example of horrid impiety, needing no refutation. He has a test for the content of allegory. It must conform to the Christian faith. He takes care to scrutinize the allegories of Origen which he finds in the *Gloss* and explains in what sense these are orthodox.²

Hence allegory is regarded as illustrating and confirming established theological truth. It does not constitute proof in itself; Langton does not normally use allegorical arguments in his *Quaestiones*, where theological truth is under discussion. Having this criterion, he sees no objection to allegorical subtleties in his glosses. The same would apply to tropology, in so far as it could be judged by Christian morals. Many of Langton's remarks about prelates could have been justified by St. Gregory's *Rules of Pastoral Care*. But morals touch on politics. There was not so well-defined a body of political as there was of theological truth. It may happen that Langton will have no standard of truth which he can recognize.

One text leads him on to this dangerous ground. *The sun shall be turned into darkness and the moon into blood* [Joel ii. 13] naturally suggests to him the argument which high churchmen used in order to justify their policy against the secular power. The greater light, which rules the day, signifies the Church, the lesser light the state; as the moon receives her light from the sun, so the state receives her power from the Church, as a delegation. Closely connected with this is the argument of the two swords [Lk. xxii. 38].

Langton, as an Englishman, was a subject of the strongest monarchy in twelfth-century Europe. He also had a very English dislike of extremes. Having stated the argument, he adds: 'But that is questionable.' We hold our breath. Langton is questioning a 'morality' which was commonly

¹ T., fo. 37°. 'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses', 76.

² Origen, for instance, says that the diversity of sacrifices commanded by the Law signifies the diversity of human virtues; some men have a few virtues, others all. This conflicts with the received opinion that 'he who has one virtue has all', in habit, if not in use. Origen's allegory, therefore, refers to the *use* not the actual possession of virtue. 'Stephen Langton and the Four Senses', 74-5.

used as a political argument by the popes. If he rejects it, as offensive to his common sense, then what standard does he propose to judge by? Surely he must see that he is casting doubt on the whole method; that a trope has no value in argument; that it is purely subjective.

No such idea occurs to him. He returns to his text and finds a solution which gives him complete satisfaction. Properly interpreted, he thinks, the text expresses, not the extreme papalist point of view, but an English compromise, which pays due regard to the facts. It is idle to say that one power dominates over the other when both are liable to eclipse:

‘It may be said that the moon receives from the sun the light of doctrine and the splendour of faith; but the sun often suffers eclipse from the action of the moon; the moon suffers eclipse from the shadow of the earth, and from the splendour of the sun, which blots her out. And now we are come to such a pass that *the sun is turned into darkness of sin and the moon into blood of spoil*.’¹

We may think this a wretched evasion. It is no good our being impatient. Langton cannot criticize a method which is bound up with his whole conception of God and the universe. He is still living in an Augustinian world of mirrors and reflections. Scripture, like the visible world, is a great mirror, reflecting God, and therefore all and every kind of truth. Scripture, like man, has a soul, how much more important than the body or letter!

While this is assumed, not all the common sense of Langton can detect the flaw in the spiritual exposition; not all the scholarship of Andrew can switch people’s attention on to the letter. It is significant that the ‘spiritual’ excerpts from Langton’s glosses were much more popular than the literal. The change could only come about by scholars’ starting from a fresh assumption. A revolution was needed. It happened in the thirteenth century, when the Dominicans and Dante did what the Victorines and their school had failed to do.

¹ T., fo. 70^c: ‘Sol et luna sunt duo magna luminaria, quorum unum scil. sol preest diei, et alterum scil. luna nocti, et luna non habet lumen nisi a sole. Sol est ecclesie principatus, qui preest diei, i.e. spiritualibus; luna vero est principatus secularis qui preest nocti i.e. terrenis; et sicut luna lumen recipit a sole, sic principatus secularis est a principatu ecclesie. Unde in passione duo gladii Domino sunt allati. Istud tamen questionis est. Unde potest dici quod luna ista accipit lumen doctrine a sole et fidei splendorem, sed sol iste sepe sit passus eclipsim per lune interpositionem, et luna sit passa eclipsim per umbram terre obnubilantem et solis splendorem lune auferentem. Modo ad hoc devenit res, quod *sol conversus est in tenebras peccatorum et luna in sanguinem rapine*.’

CHAPTER VI THE FRIARS

I. CHANGE AND DECAY

FOR biblical studies the thirteenth century is a time of beginnings. To treat it as an epilogue, as here we must do, is an injustice to the thirteenth-century scholars. It is also a 'dark age' from the point of view of our knowledge. We know more of the organization of lecturing in this period, but much less of the lectures. The *Patrologia Latina* comes to an end with Innocent III. If one contemplates the great mass of unpublished glosses listed in the catalogues of the Bibliothèque Nationale, or in the *Répertoire* of Father Glorieux,¹ one despairs of making any generalization.

It is true that the works of the great men are accessible: we have St. Bonaventure, St. Albert, and St. Thomas; the writings of the Joachimites are being intensively studied. On the one side we have a sanity, on the other an extravagance, which are unparalleled in earlier centuries. It may seem pedantic to think of the lesser men: and yet, without studying them, we cannot judge of the originality of the great, know whether their work had been anticipated, and how far it 'caught on'. Recent discussion of the originality of St. Thomas in the prologue and first question of his *Summa Theologica* shows how important it is to work on unpublished material.² The same would apply to a study of his exegesis. All one can do at present, therefore, is to note the main tendencies and the stages they have reached in the work of the outstanding people.

At least we have a clear line of succession. The heirs of both the Victorine and the biblical moral school were the friars. Theoretically one would expect it, since the friars were religious and also university masters and students. The Friars Preachers, as their name implies, might be described as an order who interpreted the religious obligation to *lectio divina* so as to include its academic sense of *lectio, disputatio*,

¹ P. Glorieux, *Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1933).

² M. D. Chenu, 'La théologie comme science au XIII^e siècle', *Archives d'hist. doct. et lit. du m.a.* ii (1927), 31-71; B. Pergamo, 'De Quaestionibus ineditis Fr. Odonis Rigaldi, Fr. Gulielmi de Melitona et Codicis Vat. lat. 782 circa naturam theologiae etc.', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, xxix (1936), 3-54, 308-64.

praedicatio. The order of 'preachers' was necessarily also an order of 'doctors'.¹ St. Dominic, as an Augustinian canon, came from the same background as the Victorines. The Priory of St. Jacques, on the hill near the modern Sorbonne, was a more lively version of the early twelfth-century school at St. Victor, purely monastic by this time. It is interesting to find the learned canon, Alexander Nequam, abbot of Cirencester (*d.* 1217), who like St. Dominic went to the schools before he entered religion, looking forward to the new development: the cloister, he thinks, ought to be the perfect place for study; he laments that 'the golden mean of regular discipline has departed and that there is too much insistence on rules and regulations'.² The Dominican ideal was to combine the work of studious contemplatives, like Hugh or Andrew, or Alexander Nequam, with the zeal for popular preaching and reform of a secular master like Stephen Langton. The same motive activated a strong party in the Franciscan Order, who, unlike their founder, believed in learning. Langton's welcome, as archbishop, to both orders shows how he too had felt the need which the friars meant to supply.

If we consider the academic relationship between the friars and the biblical moral school we get the same impression. None of the Paris masters, between Langton's departure in 1206 and 1230, when the first great Dominican exegete, Hugh of St. Cher, began to teach as a master of theology, is recorded to have left a long series of glosses on Scripture. Presumably lectures on Scripture continued, and some of the anonymous glosses in manuscript may belong to the period 1206-30; but they did not rouse much interest in contemporaries. After this, with a few exceptions like Odo of Chateauroux, who became a master in the same year as Hugh of St. Cher, and seems to have glossed most of the Bible,³ exegesis and biblical scholarship are the special field of the friars.

¹ Cf. P. Mandonnet, *op. cit.* (p. 58, n. 1), 65-7.

² Mr. R. W. Hunt kindly gave me this reference.

³ Odo left *Distinctiones super Psalterium*, MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15569. A collection of prologues, *introitus sive accessus*, to the Psalms, St. Paul, Gospels, Acts, Apocalypse, and the books of the Old Testament except for Genesis is also ascribed to him (MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 15948, fo. 174^a ff.); Glorieux, *Répertoire*, *op. cit.* (p. 219, n. 1), i. 304-7. The title of his prologue to Kings is: 'Introitus in librum Regum, et posset lectio esse ad incipiendum in theologia, aliquibus immutatis' (fo. 189^a). A lecture which would do duty for various academic functions *aliquibus immutatis* can hardly have been scientific. Odo, in fact, is homiletic in a commonplace way.

A very superficial study of Hugh of St. Cher shows that for the Octateuch he depends mainly on the *Histories*, the Chanter, and Stephen Langton, and through them on Hugh of St. Victor and Andrew. For the Prophets, Hugh has supplemented Langton by Andrew, although Langton had not used him;¹ he has also made an extensive use of Hugh of St. Victor on Ecclesiastes. It is tempting to see Robert Grosseteste passing on one aspect of the Langton tradition to the Oxford Franciscans when we read in Eccleston that Brother Agnellus 'persuaded Master Robert Grosseteste, of holy memory, to read lectures there to the brethren. Under him, within a short time, they made incalculable progress in questions and in subtle moralities suitable to preaching.'² We know that Grosseteste possessed a copy of Langton on the Minor Prophets, which, when bishop of Lincoln, he gave to Peterborough Abbey. The antiquary Leland saw a manuscript there, which he describes as: *Tropologia super duodecim prophetas collecta inter praelectiones magistri Stephani Langeton per R. de Lincolnia*;³ the *per* must refer to the donor. If the *Tropologia* were Grosseteste's source for the spiritual exposition in his lectures to the friars, then their progress in 'subtle moralities suitable for preaching' was in no way surprising.

What we have to follow, then, are the changes introduced by the friars in the traditions of the biblical moral school, much more far-reaching than the changes which the biblical moral school had made in the traditions of the Victorines. We must begin with the spiritual exposition, since here we find death and decay, and go on to the literal, where we shall find new life.

¹ B. Smalley, 'The School of Andrew of St. Victor', op. cit. (p. 150, n. 3), 161-2.

² *De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, xi, ed. A. G. Little, 60-1: '... et impetravit a sanctae memoriae magistro Roberto Grosseteste, ut legeret ibi fratribus. Sub quo inaeestimabiliter infra breve tempus, tam in quaestionibus quam praedicationi congruis subtilibus moralitatibus, profecerunt.'

³ *De Rebus Brit. Coll.*, ed. Hearnus, iv (Oxon., 1715), 31. Another interesting work at Peterborough was a *Tractatus Magistri Roberti ad Stephanum Archiepiscopum*, M. R. James, 'List of MSS. formerly in Peterborough Abbey', *Suppl. to Bibliogr. Soc. Trans.* v (1926), 56. If only this could be traced it might throw light on the relations between Grosseteste and Langton. I have not found any trace of Langton's influence in Grosseteste's commentary on the Hexaemeron (I consulted the MS. Royal 6. E.V., ff. 136-40); Prof. S. H. Thomson tells me that he thinks it unlikely that Grosseteste was at Paris during Langton's teaching period. Grosseteste uses the spiritual exposition both in his treatise on the Hexaemeron and also in his commentary on the Psalms, in MS. Eton College 8. See M. R. James, 'Robert Grosseteste on the Psalms', *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxiii (1921), 182.

Eccleston's picture of Grosseteste training the friars in 'subtle moralities' suggests continuity; but it is only an appearance. Homilists and lecturers continue to expound allegorically and morally with the help of their *distinctiones*. They are speaking the language of yesterday, as preachers and professors are always apt to do. Spiritual exegesis has been cut at the root; from now onwards its allegories and moralities have that air of brave futility which saddens one in the leaves of a fallen tree. The sap that fed them had been religious experience, drawn through the roots of *lectio divina* from the soil of the old monastic tradition, the *Conlationes* and the *Moralia in Iob*. The thirteenth-century mystics are conceiving *lectio divina* differently, in ways which will make the spiritual exposition superfluous.

On the one hand, *lectio divina* becomes more intellectual. Jordan of Saxony, writing the life of St. Dominic, says that he spent four years in sacred studies during which time 'so unceasingly, so greedily did he persist in drinking from the brooks of the Scriptures, that he passed, in tireless study, almost sleepless nights'. This might have come from the life of almost any clerical saint of an earlier period; but Jordan goes on:

'And so, since he embraced the commands of God with such eager love, hearing the voice of the Spouse with such good will and devoted joy, God added unto him the grace of science; he became not only apt for the milk of Scripture; with the understanding of a lowly heart *he probed the secrets of difficult questions, and swallowed the meat of enquiry with sufficient ease*.'¹

The biographer of an earlier saint would have contrasted the milk of the literal sense with the meat of the spiritual. Here the milk is exegesis, or *lectio*, the meat is theological questions.

On the other hand, the technique of devotion is changing. It is systematized. The older tradition had not distinguished very sharply between *lectio* and *oratio*. For St. Jerome, *lectio* was the ascent of Mount Sinai;² for the twelfth-century author of the *Scala Claustralium*,³ it is only the bottom rung of the

¹ *B. Jordanis de Saxonia Opera*, ed. J. J. Berthier (Friburgi Helvetiorum, 1891), 4.

² *Comm. in Is. Proph. praef. lib. ix, P.L.* xxiv. 314: 'sed jam proponamus Isaiae capitulum, et cum Moyse ingrediamur nubem et caliginem, ut clarificetur vultus noster.' Quoted by D. Gorce, *op. cit.* (p. 16, n. 2), 191. See also 182-91.

³ *P.L.* clxxiv. 475-84. Probably written some time before 1150 by Guy II of Chartreux, later prior. A. Wilmart, *op. cit.* (p. 144, n. 1), 230-40.

ladder: *lectio, oratio, meditatio, contemplatio*. Contemplatives are advised not to linger on it. The Cistercian abbot, Gilbert of Holland, continuing St. Bernard's *Sermones in Cantica*, reproves the brothers who read more fervently than they pray:

'Reading ought to serve our prayer, prepare our mood [for contemplation], not encroach on our time and weaken our character.'¹

The author of the *Meditationes Piissimae*, in the same tradition, accuses himself of being too fond of reading:

'But I, poor wretch that I am, run faster to reading than to my prayers; I read more gladly than I hear Mass. If someone is waiting to speak to me of his need, I take up a book that someone else wants; I read it, and reading lose the fruit of charity.'²

St. Francis shows the extreme of this tendency. He did not wish his friars to have the private use of books: 'When you have got a psalter then you'll want a breviary, and when you have got a breviary you'll sit in your chair like a great prelate and say to your brother: "fetch me my breviary"'':³ his words to the novice are well known. When a friar, recalling his love for Scripture, wanted him to have something from the Prophets read to him in his illness, St. Francis answered that though it was good to seek God in Scripture, he had learnt enough for his meditations: 'I know Christ poor and crucified.'⁴ We hear much of 'prayer and meditation' in the *Speculum Perfectionis*; the 'reading' which used to go with them has dropped out.

Nor is this only in Franciscan mysticism. It also applies to the 'devout female sex' of the Dominican Order, at least in the beginning. Jordan of Saxony, writing to Diana of Andalò, the nun entrusted to him by St. Dominic, tells the sisters to be 'instant in prayer, intent on meditation'. Although the convent had stated hours for reading, its omission here is significant. It does not appear at all in his

¹ *Sermo VII in Cant.*, P.L. clxxxiv. 43.

² Ibid. vii. 498. The Meditations have been wrongly ascribed to St. Bernard; Dom Wilmart tells me that they are found in manuscripts of the early thirteenth century.

³ 'Intentio Regulæ', *Documenta Antiqua Franciscana*, ed. L. Lemmens (Quaracchi, 1901), 93.

⁴ Thomas de Celano, 'Legenda Secunda', *S. Francisci . . . Vita et Miracula*, ed. E. Alenconiensis (Rome, 1906), lxxi. 249. The chapter is headed: 'Quid se scire cuidam fratri respondit cum hortaretur ad studium lectionis.'

letters. We expect to hear it mentioned when Jordan speaks of Diana's meditation book:

'What need have I, dear daughter, to write my little letters for your comfort, when you have far better, sweeter consolation, in taking and reading the book which is ever in your mind's eye, the book of life, the volume of law undefiled, converting the soul?'

But no, this book is not the Bible; it is the crucifix:

'This law undefiled, since it cleanses defilement, is charity, which you will find beautifully written, when you look on Jesus our Saviour, stretched out on the Cross as a parchment, written in purple, illuminated with his holy blood. Where, dearest, I ask you, can the lesson (*lectio*) of charity be so well learnt?'¹

It has even become possible to compare the study of Scripture, to its disadvantage, with the way of the mystics. We find this startling development in the English *Mirror of Simple Souls*, which is probably a translation from a thirteenth-century French original, now disappeared. It is a little treatise on the way to perfection, written for contemplatives, and is generally considered to be daring, but not unorthodox. In one passage, where 'Holy-Church' and 'Love' are discussing the status of souls who attain to the mystical union, they contrast the works of Love with those of Reason, which are typified by glosses:

"'We will say", saith Holy-Church-the-less, "that these souls be in life above us, for Love dwelleth in them. And Reason dwelleth in us. Love leadeth them, and Reason leadeth us. But this is not against us," saith Holy-Church-the-little, "but we praise them among the glosses of our scriptures."'

Later on, 'Love' is questioned by 'Holy-Church-the-little-with-all-his-rude-scripture',² as having a deeper knowledge of God. To appreciate these passages we must set them beside the *Ancren Riwele*, which goes back to the older monastic tradition:

'Often, dear Sisters, ye ought to pray less, that ye may read

¹ B. Altaner, 'Die Briefe Jordans von Sachsen', *Quellen u. Forsch. z. Gesch. des Dominikanerordens in Deutschland* (Leipzig, 1925), xx, Ep. xvi, xv. 18-20. Ep. xvi was probably written in 1230; Ep. xv in 1231, 1233, or 1235. See 115-16. The comparison between the body of our Lord on the Cross and a manuscript is commonplace, but significant in the context. On the increasing use of the crucifix see L. Gougaud, *Devotional and Ascetic Practices in the Middle Ages* (London, 1927), 75-9.

² Ed. C. Kirchberger (Orchard Books, London, 1927), 105, 115, 118.

more. Reading is good prayer. In reading, when the heart feels delight, devotion ariseth, and that is worth many prayers. St. Jerome saith: . . . "Let holy reading be always in thy hand". . . .'¹

How far from this we have travelled! In the older tradition, a contrast between contemplation and glosses is hardly thinkable: Scripture was the door to religious experience, because, mystically expounded, it contained all the secrets of the mystic life.

In the history of Bible studies, this dwindling of *lectio* has its positive side. The old allegories and moralities were fading before an intense realization of the literal meaning. The aim of St. Francis was to imitate Christ as 'literally' as possible. He told the novice who wanted a psalter that he too had been tempted to desire books; so he prayed to know God's will from the first text of Scripture that his eye should light on; it was: *to you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of Heaven: but to them in parables* [Matt. xiii. 11, 13], which he took as a command to poverty and simplicity.² By a wonderful reversal, the *mystery* of the elect means to St. Francis, not the mystical, but the strictest literal understanding of Scripture. Similarly, in their meditations, the friars seek to share in the sufferings of Christ. The ideal is not new, but it gains ground in the thirteenth century. Reading is giving way to devotions, which signifies a more historical approach to Scripture. What is evoked by the crib, the rosary, the crucifix, is the Gospel in its literal sense.

It would be pleasant to leave the Philo tradition dying respectably of old age. Alas! it has an attack of senile dementia first. Hitherto, even at its most tiresome, spiritual exposition, in the west, had been a way of finding in Scripture what one already believed, or what one observed in the life around one; anagogy showed what the Faith taught one concerning the end of that life. Scripture, spiritually expounded, reflected the past, the present, and the end of time. The span between present and Last Things was dark. Even those who had the spiritual sense divinely revealed to them, like Rupert of Deutz, had never pried into that patch of darkness. Even those who commented in the heat of political passion had never identified their enemies with anti-Christ. Exegetes had made no use of the popular

¹ Ed. J. Morton (Camden Soc., 1853), iv. 287.

² 'Intentio Regulæ', op. cit. (p. 223, n. 3).

speculations about His coming.¹ Some instinct of common sense must have restrained them; for if Scripture reflects all truth, and if God can reveal its sense to chosen students, why should this one particular patch of the mirror be blurred?

As the spiritual exposition became more systematic, there was less and less possibility of original interpretation. St. Gregory, St. Bernard and the Paris masters had left little for others to say. Religious fervour might find its outlet in some other direction; but a monk who clung to the traditional *lectio divina* and the spiritual senses would be drawn, irresistibly, to the only sphere that his predecessors had neglected. It is not surprising that a reformer of the Cistercian Order, the Calabrian abbot, Joachim of Flora, had a revelation one midnight in which a new kind of spiritual interpretation was shown to him.² Joachim had studied dialectic and used it with remarkable effect in establishing his discovery. He had a reformer's loathing for the worldliness of the clergy; the use of the moral sense of Scripture to castigate abuses did not seem to be having much effect; he hoped that his new kind of exposition might 'stir up their sleepy hearts'. He came from a part of Italy where Byzantine influence was still strong; so it was natural for him to stress the Trinity, rather than the oneness of the Godhead, and this difference in conception gave him a new idea for the allegorical sense. Why should it express a simple relationship of promise and fulfilment between Old and New Testaments? Why should not Old and New Testaments prefigure some third period?

Joachim presented the arguments for his method in his *Harmony of the Old and New Testament* and worked out its implications in commentaries on the Gospels, the Apocalypse and Psalter.³ They are a *reductio ad absurdum* of the spiritual exposition, so skilful and subtle that no summary can do justice to it. All the old conceptions are brought out and marvellously distorted. The *Harmony* begins soothingly, in the approved way, with a literal account of the divine judgements of the Old Testament. Then Joachim discusses their spiritual significance. He ascribes the Old Testament

¹ W. Kamlah, op. cit. (p. 201, n. 3), 125-6, nn. 21, 23.

² Joachim died in 1204. I have used the account of his work and influence given by D. Douie, *The Nature and the Effect of the Heresy of the Fraticelli* (Manchester, 1932), 21-48.

³ *Concordantia Novi et Veteris Testamenti* (Venice, 1519); *Expositio in Apocalypsim, Psalterium Decem Chordarum* (Venice, 1527); *Tractatus super Evangelia*, ed. E. Buonaiuti (Rome, 1930).

particularly to God the Father, the New to God the Son. The Jews understood the old Law literally or carnally, Christians understand the New Testament both literally or carnally and also spiritually; Joachim quotes the famous text of St. Paul on the need for both milk and meat [1 Cor. iii. 2]. Therefore, he reasons, we must expect a third age, belonging especially to the Holy Spirit, when the letter will be altogether cast aside and spiritual men will have perfect spiritual understanding of Scripture. As the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, so this spiritual understanding proceeds from both Old and New Testaments. The Old Testament period, beginning with Adam, corresponds to the order of wedlock, the New, beginning with Ozias king of Juda, to the order of clerks, the age of the Holy Spirit, which will begin with the new Elias, to the order of monks. As St. John the Baptist had prepared for the coming of the Son, so St. Benedict had prepared for this new age of the Spirit.

Two arguments are typical of Joachim's reasoning: if the Holy Spirit proceeded only from the Father, then the order of monks would have begun together with that of the clerks (and predictions would be impossible); but we believe the Holy Spirit to proceed from both; therefore the order of monks, which corresponds to the age of the Holy Spirit, must come in succession to the first two ages, proceeding from both of them. The second argument runs as follows: man was made in God's own image, that is, the image of the Trinity; he consists of a body, that is flesh and blood, and soul, that is *the breath of life*. Now *blood* is midway between body and soul: *For the life of all flesh is in the blood* [Lev. xvii. 14]. Just so, the order of clerks stands midway between the carnal order of wedlock and the spiritual order of monks. The life-giving *Rule* of St. Benedict pertains to the Holy Spirit, for what is contained there is spirit and life.¹

This is the culmination of the patristic tradition which had identified the letter with flesh, and regarded the spiritual interpretation, the special prerogative of religious, as its antithesis.

Building on the principle that the events of Old and New Testaments together signify something in the age of the Spirit, and making a skilful use of instruments already available, the rules of Tychonius, the mystic meaning of

¹ *Concordantia*, ff. 9-10.

numbers, the ages of the world as explained by St. Augustine, and genealogical tables, he was able to forecast the Third Age, which he believed to be imminent. It would begin with the coming of the first anti-Christ, and would be marked by a new contemplative order. The monks of the second age had not been perfect; even the Cistercians cared for multiplying flocks and herds: 'hence it is necessary that the true likeness of apostolic life should succeed them'.¹ He predicted the coming of twelve holy men, prefigured by the twelve patriarchs and the twelve Apostles.

Although Joachim was writing in the later twelfth century, 'Joachimitism' belongs to the second quarter of the thirteenth. Contemporaries seem to have found his ideas interesting and impressive without wanting or daring to borrow them. But the career of Frederick II and his persecution of the Church suggested the coming of anti-Christ, while the friars fulfilled Joachim's expectation of a new apostolic order. The seeming justification of his method caused intense excitement. Intelligent and sensible men thought there might be some truth in it. The Oxford friar, Adam Marsh, sending Joachim's works to Grosseteste for his opinion, refers to them as 'expositions' and 'interpretations' as if they were real exegesis.² Joachim was glossed. Spurious commentaries on Isaias and Jeremias were ascribed to him. The *Introduction to the Eternal Gospel*, published by a young Franciscan at Paris in 1254, treated his works as the gospel of the third age which he had predicted, superseding the New Testament. The *Introduction* showed up the dangers of Joachimitism, and was condemned, with some of Joachim's doctrines, by a papal commission. His teaching became identified with heresy, and with the losing cause of the Spiritual Franciscans, who comforted themselves in their struggle for their primitive Rule by the thought that its author was Joachim's new Elias.

The method sank into contempt in the later thirteenth century without calling forth any elaborate refutation. St. Thomas considers it briefly in a question of the *Summa*: whether the new Law shall endure to the end of the world. He contents himself with showing that no third age of perfection on earth may be expected. Man approaches to perfection according to his carrying out the new Law, which will not be superseded in this life; we cannot expect the

¹ *Concordantia*, fo. 59^v.

² *Ep.* xliii, op. cit. (p. 163, n. 3), 146-7.

grace of the Holy Spirit in fuller measure than the Apostles had. The Holy Spirit taught them what was necessary to salvation, but not the details of future events, which it is not for men to know. The old Law cannot be ascribed solely to the Father, since it prefigures Christ; and the new Law belongs to the Holy Spirit, as well as to the Son. St. Thomas takes for granted the absurdity of forecasting the future by spiritual interpretation.¹

This quiet dismissal bespeaks a change of attitude towards the whole question of the spiritual sense. The real exploder of Joachim's method was Aristotle. If Scripture ceases to be a mirror, or a flesh-imprisoned soul, or even an earth-rooted building, then the scope of its reflections, the degree of its refinement, the height of its pinnacles, all these will cease to matter. The exaggerations are not worth considering separately.

II. ARISTOTLE

The Aristotelian held that substance could only be known through its sensible manifestations. In adapting Aristotle to Christianity, St. Thomas united soul and body much more closely than the Augustinians had done. The soul is the form of the body, present in all its parts, acquiring knowledge through the senses, not through innate ideas. Its dependence on body ceases to be a penance or hard necessity, and becomes 'proper' to it. Intelligence and physical sensitiveness go together: 'among men, those who have the best sense of touch have the best intelligence. A sign of which is that we observe *those who are refined in body are well endowed in mind*, as stated in *De Anima* ii. 9.'²

Transferring his view of body and soul to 'letter and spirit', the Aristotelian would perceive the 'spirit' of Scripture as something not hidden behind or added on to, but expressed by the text. We cannot disembody a man in order to investigate his soul; neither can we understand the Bible by distinguishing letter from spirit and making a separate study of each.

The Aristotelian thought in terms of causality rather than reflections. God, pure action, is the first mover, who moves the inferior causes from potentiality to act. Just as the body won a new dignity, so the inferior causes won a power of action which they had not possessed in the Augustinian

¹ i^{ae}, ii^{ae}, q. 106, a. 4.

² *Summa Theologica*, i, q. 76, a. 5.

tradition, and this also reacted on Bible study. As God is the 'first mover' of the universe, so he is the 'first author' of Scripture; the sacred writers are authors too, chosen by God as instruments of his revelation, and acting under his motion, but choosing their own words and their own material. Scripture began to seem less like a mirror of universal truth and more like a collection of works whose authors had intended to teach particular truths; so exegesis was bound to resolve itself into the scientific study of these authors. The exegete fastened his attention on the letter, which represented the words chosen by them or by their translators as the aptest to express their meaning.

Such a study became possible when Aristotle had broken down the identification of theology with exegesis. Under the influence of the Aristotelian concept of science, theologians brought themselves to admit in theory what they had long recognized in the practical organization of teaching. Theology is a 'speculative science'; it proceeds to new conclusions from the premisses of revelation just as each of the inferior sciences starts from its own agreed assumptions. Its method is argumentative, not exegetical. At last theologians felt sufficiently sure of themselves to drop the fiction that all their work was a mere training for the allegorical interpretation. They formally freed theology from exegesis, and hence exegesis from theology.

It was natural that they should stress the first point rather than its converse. The difficulties raised by Aristotle, being metaphysical, had to be answered by reasoning and speculation; therefore the freeing of theology from exegesis stood for progress. The converse did not strike anyone, so far as we know, as a cause for rejoicing, and it raised a protest from Roger Bacon, who was old-fashioned in his attitude to Bible studies. He upheld the teaching of the *De Doctrina Christiana*, which made Scripture a divine encyclopaedia, written in cipher; he lamented that theological questions were no longer treated in lectures on Scripture. Nevertheless, though it might be ignored or even regretted, we can see that specialization was an achievement and had positive results.

Aristotle alone might have failed to make the revolution. It would have been difficult to apply his teaching to Scripture, difficult to break with the Philo tradition, if another Jewish philosopher had not shown how this could be done. Maimonides, like Philo, set out to harmonize the Old

Testament with contemporary thought; but twelfth-century Arabic philosophy, with its strong mixture of Aristotle, called for a different method. The system of explaining by allegories would not have satisfied readers who wanted to know the mind of the author. Maimonides usually prefers metaphors or figures of speech to allegories. Instead of using 'rules' which are the same for every passage, he explains these 'figures' by a study of the context and the teaching of the prophet or lawgiver. In this he was influenced by a book which was inaccessible to the Latin middle ages, but well known to the Arab: Plato's *Laws*. The *Laws* gave Maimonides a clear picture of what the lawgiver and the prophets were like, and so a key to their meaning. '... Revelation, as understood by Jews and Muslims, had the form of Law. Revelation, thus understood, lent itself to being interpreted by loyal philosophers as a perfect, ideal law, as an ideal political order.' Hence 'they had to conceive, and they did conceive, of Moses or Mohammed as philosopher kings'.¹

If we begin with the idea of a philosopher king whose aim is to teach and govern his people, we can find a reason behind every detail of his work.

'What edification for the mind, what progress in virtue, what joy could be derived simply from knowing who has been prince of a particular tribe?'² A twelfth-century scholar, perhaps Peter of Poitiers, had asked this question, and had found the answer in 'great and profound mysteries', that is, in the spiritual interpretation. Maimonides asks the same question; his reply is: not a mystery but a reason.

'Every narrative in the Law serves a certain purpose in connexion with religious teaching.'

Historical details make the narrative circumstantial and convincing, and may be an essential part of the story:

'The reader of the description believes that it contains superfluous matter, or useless repetition, but if he had witnessed the event of which he reads, he would see the necessity of every part of the description.'³

Christian commentators had despised the letter and dwelt on 'mysteries' because this was the only way they knew

¹ L. Strauss, 'On Abravanel's Philosophical Tendency and Political Teaching', *Isaac Abravanel*, ed. J. B. Trend and H. M. J. Loewe (Cambridge, 1937), 97-8.

² *Allegoriae super Numeros*, quoted by P. S. Moore, *op. cit.* (p. 169, n. 2), 77.

³ *Guide for the Perplexed*, trans. M. Friedländer (London, 1904), 381-2.

of rationalizing what seemed irrelevant and unedifying. Maimonides taught them to find reason and edification in the literal sense.

The *Guide to the Perplexed* was translated into Latin early in the thirteenth century. The history of its various translations and their penetration into the schools remains to be written, nor have we yet a detailed description of the translations of Aristotle. But if we compare the work of three Dominicans, Hugh of St. Cher, St. Albert, and St. Thomas, we shall have some idea of the change in exegesis. Hugh of St. Cher, whose postils belong probably to 1230-44, is still fumbling in his treatment of the literal exposition. He thinks in the old categories, 'letter and spirit', and tries to clarify the relationship between them, not very happily. For instance, he expounds Ezechiel's vision *litteraliter*, *imaginarie*, and *mystice*. In the *imaginarie* section he describes the appearance of the vision, in the 'literal' section what the appearance signified to the prophet. Perhaps the *imaginarie* derives from Maimonides on prophecy. If this is so, then Hugh has simply borrowed an expression and rather clumsily adapted it. The influence of Aristotle is important but formal on Hugh. He analyses each book, and again each chapter, dividing and subdividing according to the method of commenting on philosophical texts. It is at least a step towards treating the book as a whole and discussing the contents, instead of merely glossing each paragraph.¹

The commentaries of St. Albert probably belong to the last years of his life, 1270-80.² In their present form they are later than those of St. Thomas, which have been dated 1259-73.³ St. Albert may have been influenced by his pupil, but his commentaries are the fruit of a long life of teaching. He became master of theology at Paris between 1245 and 1248, a year or two after Hugh of St. Cher had left the schools; so we can take him as representing the generation which succeeded Hugh.

St. Albert accepts the spiritual interpretation and uses it

¹ Fr. I. M. Vosté thinks that Hugh was the first theologian to try this method: 'ipse iam exhibet primum tentamen exegeseos per divisiones logicas, praecipue in explicandis prophetis et epistolis paulinis.' *S. Albertus Magnus*, i, *In Novum Testamentum* (Rome, 1932), 13.

² Ibid. 5-12; ii, *In Vetus Testamentum*, 39-40, 53.

³ P. Mandonnet, 'La Chronologie', &c., op. cit. (p. 163, n. 1), xi-xii (N.S.), 1928-9. For the table of St. Thomas's scriptural works and the dates see xi. 34.

as subtly as any of his predecessors had done. His commentary on the Twelve Prophets opens with the same text as Stephen Langton's: *May the bones of the Twelve Prophets spring up out of their place* [Ecclus. xlix. 12]; but he gives its interpretation a twist which can only be intentional. Langton had compared the dry bones to the letter of Scripture, the marrow and fatness to the spiritual interpretation, difficult of extraction. St. Albert compares the bones to the literal sense, not because they are dry, but because they are solid, taking their solidity from 'the truth of things'.¹ With St. Albert the 'literal truth' takes on a new meaning. It is not an easy preliminary but a difficult goal.

A few illustrations will show how he concentrates on the literal sense. When he expounds the book of Lamentations he explains its fourfold division on the grounds of its historical subject-matter. It is a lament for the loss of prosperity, for the loss of glory, for present misery, for the contrast of the present with the happy past. Others (he means Paschasius and Gilbert the Universal in the *Gloss*) have given other explanations, as that man and the world consist of four elements, or that there are four seasons in the year:

'But *our* custom is not to concern ourselves with divisions which cannot be deduced from the letter.'

His commentaries on the Gospels, which are fuller than those on the Old Testament, show his purpose at its clearest. The story of St. Peter's denial had lent itself easily to moralization; St. Peter signified the sinner, the servants and bystanders three stages of sin: temptation, consent, mis-doing. St. Albert remarks:

'All this can be expounded morally, but it does not seem profitable to me to distract my readers' minds from the piety of faith; so we pass over such expositions.'

In commenting on the temptation of our Lord in the wilderness to change stone into bread, he says: 'this is the literal truth', and goes on to reject the conventional comparisons between the hard stone and the Law, or the sinner's heart:

'I think it an absurd exposition, and *contrary to the mind of the author*.'²

¹ 'Signant autem *ossa* Scripturae soliditatem, in qua sicut dulcedo medullae latet spiritualis sensus . . . *Ossa* pluraliter, quia in singulis istorum, quattuor sunt sensus, historicus scil., soliditatem habens ex rerum veritate. . . .' Quoted by I. M. Vosté, ii. 6.

² I have chosen these illustrations from those given by Vosté, i. 20-1; ii. 26.

When he tossed aside these fanciful explanations, St. Albert had his eye especially on Hugh of St. Cher, whose postils he was using.¹ He quite realized how new his method was.

St. Thomas defined the new position. His *Summa* opens with a statement of the whole problem of the literal and spiritual senses and their relationship. He takes the familiar distinction between words and things from the *De Doctrina Christiana*, and fits it into an Aristotelian framework. God is the principal author of Holy Scripture. Human writers express their meaning by words; but God can also express his meaning by 'things', that is by historical happenings. The literal sense of Scripture, therefore, is what the human author expressed by his words; the spiritual senses are what the divine author expressed by the events which the human author related. Since the Bible is the only book which has both a divine and a human authorship, only the Bible can have both a literal and a spiritual sense.

The problem of what ought to be included in the letter consequently solved itself. Commentators had groped their way to the position that figures and metaphors belonged to the literal interpretation without quite understanding why. But if the 'letter' is defined as the whole intention of the inspired writer, it makes no difference whether he expresses himself in plain language or symbolically or metaphorically. The literal sense, as St. Thomas explained, was not the figure of speech, but its content, that which it figured. The spiritual senses were not derived from the words of the writer, but from the sacred history in which he was taking part, and whose meaning at the time was known only to God, its author. It was equally clear that no arguments could be drawn from the spiritual senses, but only from the letter.²

St. Thomas drew the conclusions of this definition in his

¹ Vosté, i. 22; ii. 12-13.

² *Summa Theologica*, i, q. 1, a. 10, *Quodlibet*, viia. 14-16. P. Synave, 'La Doctrine de St Thomas d'Aquin sur le sens littéral des Écritures', *Revue Biblique*, xxxv (1926), 40 ff. The question whether St. Thomas followed St. Augustine in holding that a passage of Scripture might have more than one *literal* meaning has been much discussed: see in addition to Synave, F. O. P. Ceuppens, 'Quid S. Thomas de multipli sensu litterali S. Scripturae senserit'; S. M. Zarb, 'Utrum S. Thomas unitatem an vero pluralitatem sensus litteralis in Sacra Scriptura docuerit?', *Divus Thomas* (Placentia, 1930), xxxiii. 164-75, 337-59. The discussion shows that St. Thomas either followed St. Augustine, or that he did not make his meaning clear. In his exegesis he generally avoids long lists of alternative explanations, such as his predecessors were accustomed to give; and this suggests that he preferred only one literal meaning.

exegesis. He had ruled out the spiritual senses as an object of scientific study. 'In figuris presignatur' was the theme of his Eucharistic hymns, but rarely of his lectures on Scripture. Reading these against a background of modern exegesis, one naturally finds the medieval element in them startling; approaching them from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, one is more startled by their modernity. Sometimes he will put fresh life into old conventions and sometimes ignore them. In his prologues, for instance, he may begin with a text in the conventional way, but then it becomes a means for probing into his subject. On the Psalter for instance:

*'In all his works he gave thanks to the holy one and to the most High, with words of glory [Ecclus. xlvii. 9]. This is said of David, in a literal sense, and may well be taken to show the cause of this work.'*¹

Sometimes he omits the introductory text altogether. His exposition of Job begins with the same forcefulness as surprises us in John the Scot and Andrew:

*'As in things produced in the course of nature, gradually through the imperfect the perfect is reached, so it happens to man in his understanding of truth. . . .'*²

This particular book will serve us as a measure for the distance between the Victorines, Hugh of St. Cher, St. Albert, and St. Thomas. The writer of the anonymous Victorine letter will allow *no* 'useful' literal significance to Job; let it be read forthwith of Christ and his Church.³ Hugh of St. Cher will admit a certain literal intention: to show us the depths of human misery and to teach us patience. Still hypnotized by St. Gregory's *Moralia*, he says that the value of the book is practical rather than speculative.⁴ Occasionally he abandons the literal sense and expounds only in the spiritual.⁵ St. Albert had learnt from Maimonides to read the book of Job as a philosophical discussion on providence and human suffering. He suggests this view in his prologue, together with the older one: the book shows us that the sufferings of the righteous will end in consolation,

¹ *Expositio Aurea* (Paris, 1640), 259.

² *In Librum Iob Expositio* (Rome, 1562), 5.

³ See above, p. 63.

⁴ *Post. in Bibl.* (Cologne, 1621), iv, fo. 396^r: 'Theologiae supponitur liber iste per omnes suas partes, magis tamen practico deservit intellectui. Unde infra, viia: *Militia est vita hominis super terram.*'

⁵ Fo. 432^v on Job xxix; in other passages the literal sense is dismissed cursorily; fo. 434 on xxx: 'Litera plana est et aperta historia.'

and are necessary to teach them wisdom in this life; it exhorts us to patience.¹ He honours the special character of the book by quoting from pagan poets and philosophers more frequently than in his other commentaries,² and he follows Maimonides in differentiating the arguments of the four friends. One has the impression of an experiment in exegesis, less attractive than it might have been because the argument between Job and his friends has been ruthlessly, tediously forced into the framework of a scholastic disputation, which God eventually 'determines' in favour of Job.

Unlike St. Albert, St. Thomas does not quote from the *Guide*; he has assimilated and made it his own, in principle though not always in detail. The aim of the book of Job, in his view, is to show 'by probable reasons that human affairs are governed by divine providence'. Patience is not even mentioned. The sufferings of a righteous man are a theme, chosen as the basis of discussion. Whether they are a true story or simply a parable does not affect the argument, although, St. Thomas adds, a text of Ezechiel [xiv. 14] seems to treat Job as an historical person. Surely, one asks, the traditional Gregorian view of the book must be recognized somewhere? Reading through the prologue one waits with some excitement to see what treatment it will get. St. Thomas leaves it to the last sentence: he proposes 'to expound this book compendiously according to the literal sense; for blessed Pope Gregory has opened its mysteries to us so subtly and discreetly, that it seems nothing more need be added.'

Thanks to his 'compendious' treatment, the 'purpose' never disappears behind the exposition of isolated texts. St. Thomas quotes less from the philosophers than St. Albert does, but he concentrates on the philosophy of the book. Taken with the last sentence of the prologue, the exposition illustrates for us the whole distance between St. Thomas and the Alexandrians.

The history of one particular text will illustrate this distance in greater detail. We may take a precept of the Law, *Thou shalt not boil a kid in the milk of his dam* [Exod. xxiii. 19], and see what it conveyed to various commentators from St. Augustine to St. Thomas. St. Augustine denied that the precept had any literal meaning. He felt that its absurdity would be inconsistent with the dignity of Scripture.

¹ *Commentarii in Iob*, ed. M. Weiss (Freiburg i. Br., 1904), I, 2.

² Vosté, i. 45-6.

Bringing all the resources of allegory into play, he interpreted it as a prophecy that Christ should not perish in the slaughter of the innocents.¹ Whether the lawgiver meant it for a prophecy; what it meant to the people for whom he legislated; whether, in practice, it was regarded as an actual law on the same footing as those which had a literal sense: none of these questions is answered or even asked. They did occur to later commentators, who found the denial of the literal sense perplexing. John the Scot, in a valiant search for clarity, divided the content of Scripture into two heads, symbol and mystery. A mystery has an historical institution which has been recorded; examples are the tabernacle and the Law in the Old Testament, Baptism and the Eucharist in the New. A symbol does not refer to any historical event; it is verbal; things are sometimes spoken of as though they had happened, when in fact it is understood that they have not. As examples of symbols John gives a poetic metaphor: *The mountains skipped like rams* [Ps. cxiii. 4]; the parable of Dives and Lazarus; doctrinal passages such as: *In the beginning was the Word* [John i. 1]; and, curiously out of place in this otherwise intelligible classification, the precept against boiling a kid in milk.² It was the only solution he could think of for St. Augustine's denial of the literal meaning, which forbade him to treat the precept as an ordinary part of the Law.

Andrew found in his conversations with rabbis that the precept was still observed. He supposed, therefore, that it must have a literal sense, and that this was what the Jews believed and practised concerning it:

'The Hebrew word for which we have "lamb" or "kid" means rather "something separated"; the sense is: nothing which is separated from the flesh, that is, that which is conceived and brought forth by fleshly generation. The Jews think that this has to be prescribed on account of birds', which are allowed. 'To this day,' he continues, 'they do not cook the flesh of any "walking" animal in milk, or in any milk product, such as butter or cheese. They interpret the prohibition of any milk, and think that the mother's was specially mentioned because it was the most accessible.'³

¹ *Quaestiones in Heptateuchum*, ii. 90; *P.L.* xxxiv. 629.

² *Commentarius in Ioannem*, *P.L.* cxxii. 344-8.

³ MS. C.C.C. 30, fo. 29^b: 'Verbum Hebraicum pro quo nos hedum sive agnum habemus magis separatum significat, et est sensus: nichil quod separatum est a carne, i.e. quod per generationem carnalem conceptum et editum est,

He also gives a contemporary Jewish view.

When Stephen Langton had to face the contradiction between St. Augustine and Andrew, he inclined to Andrew:

‘Augustine says he does not see how this can be understood literally, and that therefore we must have recourse to the spiritual meaning. But there may be a literal sense, i.e.: *Thou shalt not boil* it while it is still too young and tender. . . .’

He then quotes from Andrew, and ends with allegorical and moral interpretations.¹ Hugh of St. Cher reproduces Langton.²

Andrew tacitly, Langton openly, have ventured to contradict St. Augustine by giving the passage a literal sense in spite of its ‘absurdity’. They are curious to know what the prohibition actually covered. The idea that its literal sense might have any spiritual value does not occur to them. The spiritual value comes from the allegorical and moral sense.

The *Guide to the Perplexed* intends to show that the Law commanded nothing absurd. The prohibition is justified for hygienic reasons. ‘Meat boiled in milk is undoubtedly gross food and makes overful’; moreover the purpose of the Law was to wean the Jews from idolatry; this kind of food had probably been used in offerings to idols.³

St. Thomas accepts the position of Stephen Langton: the precepts of the old Law had a literal, an allegorical, and a moral sense. He adds to this the teaching of the *Guide*; they had not only a literal sense but a literal reason:

quod propter aves determinandum Iudei putant; nichil, inquam, tale in lacte coques. Observant usque hodie Iudei ut nullius gressibilis animalis carnes in lacte vel cum alio eorum que de lacte fiunt, scil. caseo vel butyro et huiusmodi coctas comedant. Non ideo putant in lacte matris sue agni scil. vel hedi vel separati dictum fuisse quod si in alterius pecoris lacte coquatur transgressio non sit, sed quia hoc lac paratius et magis presto quam aliud forsitan inveniri possit. Nec ideo nec de agno vel hedo hoc prohibitum quod de aliis animantibus fieri liceat, sed quod de hoc animali precipitur de omnibus potius, exceptis avibus que non de carne sed de ovis separantur, debere intellegi. Sunt tamen qui non de quolibet agno vel hedo hoc dictum putant, sed de his tantum que Domino offeruntur, de quibus Dominus in lege precipit dicens: *bos, ovis et capra cum generata fuerint vii diebus erunt sub ubere matris sue*. . . . Hi hoc modo litteram exponunt: *Non coques hedum*, i.e. non offeres ad occidendum et coquendum dum est *in lacte matris sue*, i.e. dum recenter natus non herba pascitur, sed solo lacte matris sue alitur.’ See above, pp. 125-6.

¹ MS. Trinity College, Oxford, 65, fo. 133^{a-b}: ‘Augustinus dicit se nescire quomodo hoc ad proprietatem littere possit intelligi; ideo recurrendum est ad intelligentiam spiritualem: et potest esse sensus ad litteram i.e. non coques eum dum adhuc nimis tener est et lacte matris nutritur. . . . Potest autem intelligi allegorice dupliciter: hedus est Christus. . . . Moraliter hedus est peccator. . . .’

² Op. cit. (p. 235, n. 4), i. 91.

³ Op. cit. (p. 231, n. 3), 371.

‘ . . . The reason for whatever conduces to an end must be taken from that end. Now the end of the ceremonial precepts was twofold, for they were ordained to the divine worship, for that particular time, and to the foreshadowing of Christ. . . . Accordingly the reasons for the ceremonial precepts of the Old Law can be taken in two ways. First in respect of the divine worship which was to be observed for that particular time: *and these reasons are literal.*¹

Just as the literal sense includes verbal metaphor, so it includes the religious significance of the ceremonial precepts. When he comes to the prohibition against boiling in milk, he states the objection that the literal sense is absurd, and gives an answer which has been partly suggested by Maimonides:

‘Although the kid that is slain has no perception of the manner in which its flesh is cooked, yet it would savour of heartlessness if the dam’s milk, which was intended for the nourishment of her offspring, were served up on the same dish. . . . It might also be said that the Gentiles in celebrating the feasts of their idols, prepared the flesh of kids in this manner. . . .’

Prohibitions of this kind were not irrational at the time. The Law took man as he was, a compound of reason and feeling; it worked on his pity for animals in order to increase his kindness to his fellow men.²

Modern study of primitive law has shown that the purpose of these precepts was more complicated than Maimonides and St. Thomas thought. But this is a very minor point. St. Thomas had brought Christian exegesis to a stage where the Old Testament precepts could be made a subject of scientific study. At the same time he was giving content to the teaching of the Fathers, that the Old Testament was a history of religious education.

We can see the effect of these changes in political science as well as in exegesis. When Dante, a pupil of the Dominicans, wanted to show the fallacy of the famous arguments from the sun and moon and the two swords, he was in a far stronger position than Stephen Langton. The question for him was not as it had been for Langton: Do the properties of the sun correspond perfectly with those of the Church? He considers, not the words in themselves, but the intention of the author: Did Moses intend the greater and lesser lights to signify the

¹ i⁸⁰, ii⁸⁰, q. 102, a. 2.

² Ibid., a. 6, ad 4.

relations between Church and state? The sequence of his narrative of Creation makes this improbable. Rule is 'accidental' to man and a consequence of his fall. Why, then, should it be introduced before we are even told of man's creation? Similarly in the argument from the two swords, Dante sends us to the context. The words: *let him sell his coat and buy a sword* [Lk. xxii. 36] were addressed to the Twelve, and were a warning to prepare for persecution. *It is enough* meant not that two swords were the right number, but, 'since you have no more'. The character of St. Peter, as drawn by all four Evangelists, makes it most unlikely that he was using 'sword' in a different sense from his Master; his answers are always direct, hasty, unreflecting, corresponding to his sincerity and his 'natural purity and simplicity'. If, however, the words are to be understood *typice*, then they must refer to a parallel text: *I come not to send peace but a sword* [Matt. x. 34]. St. Peter was thinking of this spiritual warfare when he answered: *here are two swords*; he meant that the Twelve were ready to fight by word and deed.¹

This is not a concession to the 'spiritual interpretation'; it in no way resembles the solution contrived by Langton. Dante is still thinking of the intention of his author. *Typice* for him has the sense of 'metaphorically'. Hence it is part of the literal interpretation. He assumes all through the discussion that an argument, to be valid, must be based on this. If, conceding the utmost possible, the sun and moon and the two swords have a metaphorical meaning, then we must deduce it from a study of the context, and ask how Moses or the Evangelist intended it. Like St. Thomas, Dante uses the spiritual senses in poetry but not in argument.

These two express the change for us with the incisiveness of their genius. But we can see it in humbler people. A Franciscan, Thomas Docking, uninspired and conscientious, speaks in his lectures at Oxford of the 'subtle, noble literal sense'.² It is not confined to one school of thought. We find it also in St. Bonaventure; Thomas Docking was a pupil of Roger Bacon. Although the Franciscans kept closer to St. Augustine in their philosophy, Aristotle influenced their biblical studies.

At some time in the thirteenth century commentators

¹ E. Moore and W. H. V. Reade, *Dante De Monarchia* (Oxford, 1916), iii. 8, 9; 369-70.

² See above, p. 170, n. 3.

step back 'through the looking-glass', out of their world of reflections into everyday life. The first impulse seems to come from religious experience. We can see the Philo tradition losing its appeal, and collapsing into sheer fantasy, even before Maimonides and Aristotle supplant and discredit it. The scholars rationalize and hasten something which is already happening. The 'letter' of Scripture has captured not only their reason but their affection too.

III. HEBRAICA VERITAS

The first steps of commentators in their new Aristotelian universe, where things were themselves and not cryptograms, have been regarded with some prejudice. The scholastic method of exegesis has almost as poor a reputation as the allegorical. The great schoolmen were not primarily biblical scholars. St. Thomas and St. Bonaventure, it has been said, came to the Bible as theologians, St. Albert as a philosopher.¹ The very concentration on Aristotle, which enabled the Dominicans to effect a change in exegetical principles, tended to prevent their new principles bearing fruit.

Biblical scholarship demanded just that humanist culture which the twelfth century had developed and the thirteenth century neglected in favour of science and metaphysics. The *Histories* went out of fashion in the schools of the later thirteenth century and ceased to be a 'set book'.² Without an historical and literary background the master's division or subdivision of his text is no more relevant than the allegory and trope. It is still subjective, especially when he bases his division on the chapter system, which had been imposed on the text for simple convenience. His analysis, for a modern reader, is just as remote from reality, just as tedious, and considerably less amusing, than the *distinctio*.

Roger Bacon, the most popular of English thirteenth-century scholars, denounces the whole scholastic method in a well-known passage. He objects to the arbitrary analysis by

¹ I. M. Vosté, *op. cit.* (p. 232, n. 1), i. 35. Father Vosté has shown that St. Albert had a smattering of Greek and Hebrew but not enough to allow of his reading Scripture in the originals. He took his readings from the *correctoria*. St. Thomas also knew a little Greek; there is no evidence that he knew any Hebrew. See H. Pope, 'St. Thomas as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture' in *St. Thomas Aquinas* (Oxford, 1925), 118-21.

² See A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *op. cit.* (p. 162, n. 2), 25-6. They state that the *Histories* were replaced by postils which 'presumably changed according to time and place'.

chapters, to the arbitrary concordances and rhythms, imported from commentaries on the philosophers, the law-books and grammarians.¹ He accuses his contemporaries of neglecting scientific Bible study. Their ignorance of the biblical languages vitiates their interpretation and their principles of textual criticism are unsound. Bacon's abuse is so plausible, so carefully documented by his lists of their 'horrible' errors, his language so fresh and vigorous, that one tends to see thirteenth-century Bible study through his eyes. Therefore, before asking what technical progress was made by his contemporaries, one ought to ask whether Bacon is a reliable witness, and what his suggestions for reform were worth.

Bacon was a rebellious reactionary, or a reactionary rebel. He called upon men to think for themselves, instead of relying on authority. His own thinking, at least about the Bible, was extremely conservative.² He had no use for the new conception of the letter. He clung ferociously to the old Alexandrian view that the Scriptures contained all knowledge, philosophy having been divinely revealed to the patriarchs, and that the literal sense was important as a foundation for the spiritual: theology and philosophy were reducible to Bible study.³ He believed in Hugh of St. Victor's method: language to establish the text, science to expound the literal sense, the better to work out the spiritual.⁴ He approved the technique of Richard of St. Victor on the tabernacle and temple: geometry is necessary

'in order that the Noe's ark, the tabernacle with all its furniture, the temple of Solomon and Ezechiel may be described physically. . . . Otherwise it is not possible for the literal sense to be known, nor, in consequence, the spiritual. The holy and wise men of old strove after this. I have seen some of their work, and this is how Scripture represents things, that we may know old and new, and see with our eyes the cult of that people which prefigures the new.'⁵

The only difference between the educational schemes of

¹ *Opus Minus*, ed. Brewer (Rolls Series), 323: 'Quae fiunt in textu principaliter legendo et praedicando, sunt tria principaliter; scil. divisiones per membra varia, sicut artistae faciunt, concordantiae violentes, sicut legistae utuntur; et consonantiae rhythmicae, sicut grammatici. In istis tribus stat praecipuus modus artificum exponendi Scripturam. Et haec licet utilia sunt, tamen tracta sunt de philosophia.'

² See A. G. Little, 'Roger Bacon', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, xiv (1928), 265-96.

³ *Opus Tertium*, 79-83.

⁴ *Opus Minus*, 349-59; *Opus Tertium*, 203.

⁵ *Ibid.* 226.

Bacon and Hugh of St. Victor was that the field of knowledge had been enlarged in the meantime. Bacon required a much more extensive and intensive preparation for Bible study. Consequently his programme was even less practicable than the Victorine. No one seems to have taken it seriously.

The separate items in his programme, on the contrary, if isolated from their context, have a very modern sound. In repeating, Bacon has made his own the arguments of St. Jerome and St. Augustine for studying Scripture in the original. He explains how knowledge of Hebrew and Chaldean is indispensable to an understanding of the idiom and rhythm, and hence of the meaning of the Old Testament, similarly Greek for an understanding of the New.¹ He points out that Latin thought, like the Latin language, is derivative. Consequently we need not only the Greek text but the Greek Fathers.² We must go to the sources. *Veritas in radice*: this is Bacon's war cry.³

His consistency appears all the more clearly when he turns from the original texts to their Latin translation. Although, as a scholar, his ideal was to study the sources, Bacon took for granted that the starting-point for students would be the text read at lectures, the Latin Vulgate. Therefore, it was necessary to get as close as possible to the original of that.⁴ The Paris masters had proposed a particularly bad text as their standard. This was being circulated by the stationers and would soon spread over Christendom. This bad text was still further corrupted by irresponsible corrections. Quite alien readings were being inserted from biblical quotations in the commentaries of the Fathers, from the liturgy, and from the Hebrew.

Bacon held that correctors ought to concentrate their attention on restoring the original text of St. Jerome. He proved, step by step, that this was the version used by the Church (with the exception of the Psalter), not a mixed version as his contemporaries supposed. He begged the Pope to set up a commission for the revision of the Vulgate by competent scholars. They should work on manuscripts older than the Paris text, collect the more common readings, and go to their translator's original when in doubt.

¹ *Opus Maius*, ii, iii; *Opus Tertium*, 264-7; *Compendium Studii*, 438-9, 464-6.

² *Ibid.* 474.

³ *Opus Minus*, 332.

⁴ *Ibid.* 330-49. See P. Martin, 'La Vulgate latine au XIII^e siècle', *Muséon*, vii (1888), 88, 169, 278, 381; 'Le Texte parisien de la Vulgate latine', *ibid.* viii (1889), 444; ix (1890), 55, 301.

His attitude to the medieval accretions of the Vulgate followed logically from his attitude to the text. He disliked the anonymous prologues which had been added to the authentic ones of St. Jerome.¹ He disliked the non-patristic glosses.² He recognized that the Vulgate demanded a knowledge of St. Jerome's vocabulary and background which the glossators had not possessed. The *Gloss* on Ezech. xxiii. 41: *Sedisti in lecto pulcherrimo, et mensa ornata est ante te* expounds it as referring to fornication, quoting the line of Ovid [*Metam.* v. 603]:

Et quia nuda fui, sum visa paratior illi.

Bacon rightly denies that *lectus* in this context means 'bed'. The *Gloss* is mistaken. *Lectus* here is the couch, *triclinium*, on which the ancients reclined at their meals.³ Actually he was being more classical than St. Jerome, who says in his commentary '. . . ut sederes in *lectulo* libidini praeprata'. The glossator, Gilbert, was merely illustrating St. Jerome by a tag supplied from his own 'universal knowledge'.⁴ Bacon foreshadows the artists of the sixteenth century, who painted the Last Supper with Christ and the Apostles not sitting on benches but reclining on *triclinia*, according to the only antique setting they knew: 'a deliberate pursuit of archaeological accuracy'.⁵

Bacon's contribution to biblical scholarship was three-fold. He made some useful lists of current errors, false etymologies, and so on, taken from the standard aids to study (the list contained various mistakes of his own).⁶ He laid down rules both for the study of the original and for the restoration of the Latin: 'on extrairait facilement de ses ouvrages un petit volume de grandes maximes, bonnes à lire, et saines à méditer.'⁷ Most important and valuable, he composed

¹ *Opus Minus*, 337: 'Nam nec S. Hieronymus contra hoc in quibusdam prologis, qui male ponuntur in Biblia nostra, qui non sunt in sua, transfert male. . . .' On these prologues see above, p. 176, n. 2.

² *Compendium Studii*, 459; *Opus Minus*, 353; *Opus Tertium*, 211.

³ *Opus Minus*, 355-6.

⁴ The line quoted by Bacon is in the printed editions of the *Gloss* and can be verified in a twelfth-century manuscript, MS. Pembroke College, Cambridge, 61, in loc. As it is not in Raban's commentary on Ezechiel it was very probably added by Gilbert the Universal. Brewer has *mensa* for *visa*. Bacon may have taken this corrupt reading from later manuscripts of the *Gloss*.

⁵ A. Blunt, 'The Triclinium in Religious Art', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, ii (1939), 271. Bacon could have found the idea in Jewish sources. See Kimhi, in loc.

⁶ For instance his explanation of Hexapla, *Opus Minus*, 337.

⁷ P. Martin, op. cit. (p. 179, n. 1), vii. 384.

Greek and Hebrew grammars; fragments, probably of his rough drafts, have been discovered and published, which show that he had a good working knowledge of both languages;¹ and at least for the former, his project seems to have been original.² But just when he appears to be most scientific and progressive, he will produce one of those disconcerting ideas which made him suspect to his contemporaries. He guaranteed to teach enough Hebrew or Greek for reading purposes within three days by a certain method. This is mysteriously unspecified; but one can guess it. Probably he administered his grammar by magic arts.³

Bacon, then, was not strictly speaking a biblical scholar. No work of his directly on Scripture has been preserved. Nor did he resemble one in character. We must not take him as representative, any more than we must take St. Albert, St. Thomas, or St. Bonaventure. The typical scholar, in the thirteenth century as now, was a more limited person than any of these four. He was working for a small circle, not writing, as Bacon was, at the special request of the Pope. Bacon exaggerates both the neglect and the ignorance of his contemporaries. The *homo sapientissimus* whom he mentions, who had spent over thirty years on the correction of the text and the literal exposition,⁴ was not so isolated as he makes out. While Bacon was saying, brilliantly, convincingly, and three times over, what ought to be done, others were quietly attempting it. They succeeded in some ways, in spite of the scholastic method and the decline of humanism.

Having broken, let us hope, the spell of Bacon, we may turn to these less spectacular men. Bacon does not mention their improved organization of teaching and apparatus. The elementary work of reading and construing the text with its *Gloss* devolved, in the course of the century, on the *bachelarius biblicus*, the commentary proper being reserved for the master.⁵ Hence the magisterial glosses of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are much less choked with mere

¹ J. L. Heiberg, 'Die griechische Grammatik Roger Bacons', *Byz. Zeitschr.* ix (1900), 479-91; E. Nolan and S. A. Hirsch, *The Greek Grammar of Roger Bacon and a Fragment of his Hebrew Grammar* (Cambridge, 1902).

² A. G. Little, 'Roger Bacon', *op. cit.* (p. 242, n. 2), 277-8.

³ See a forthcoming article by E. Jaffé and B. Smalley, 'Roger Bacon and the *Ars Notoria*', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*.

⁴ *Opus Tertium*, 89-94.

⁵ At Paris the bachelor read the Scriptures before the *Sentences*, at Oxford vice versa. See A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *op. cit.* (p. 162, n. 2.), 26, n. 3.

quotations from the *Gloss* than Langton's are. They are shorter and more condensed.

The chapter division was gradually standardized. Philip the Chancellor seems to have brought the method of referring systematically to chapters into common use about 1225.¹ Then various subdivisions of the chapters were tried, which led up to the present arrangement in verses. Hugh of St. Cher may have been the first to refer to these subdivisions by letters of the alphabet. He also organized the drawing up of Bible concordances, the technique of which was altered and improved during the century.² This is only the best-known example of a great movement for tabulating references to the Scriptures and the Fathers, which is impressing students of medieval libraries.³ Aids to study in the form of biblical dictionaries, William Brito's being the most popular, struck Bacon as unscientific; but they are a sign of the general activity. Scholars rarely praise popular text-books. Another sign is the publication of geographical descriptions of Palestine.⁴

Even the Paris text of the Vulgate, which Bacon denounces for its corruption, becomes intelligible if we understand what its function was. Bacon's remarks have been construed to mean that, about 1226, a committee of masters selected a particularly bad and late text as their standard for use in the schools and recommended it to the Paris stationers.⁵ Some standardization was necessary, and the lecture system gave them little choice. The 'set book' for students was the Bible and its *Gloss*. Since the *Gloss* had been prepared in the twelfth century, they could not have chosen an earlier manuscript as their exemplar. Their standard text had to be the glossed text, and hence a late one. Scripture, as expounded at Paris,

¹ See above, p. 180, n. 4.

² E. Mangelot, art. 'Concordances' in *Dict. de la Bible*, op. cit. (p. 193, n. 2).

³ See for instance S. H. Thomson's 'Grosseteste's Topical Concordance of the Bible and the Fathers', *Speculum*, ix (1934), 139-44; Kleinhaus 'De Concordantiis Biblicis S. Antonio Patavino aliisque attributis', *Antonianum*, vi (1931), 273-326.

⁴ See P. Mandonnet, art. 'Dominicains', in *Dict. de la Bible*.

⁵ Bacon's actual words are: 'Nam circa quadraginta annos [sunt] multi theologi infiniti et stationarii Parisius parum videntes hoc proposuerunt exemplar': *Opus Minus*, 333 (written in 1267). The committee appointed to select and standardize a text is an ingenious suggestion of Martin. The textual variations noted by Langton show how necessary standardization must have seemed for class-room purposes. Martin also verified the false readings mentioned by Bacon in a number of Paris Bibles. Bacon's constant references to the *exemplar Parisiense* make it clear that a certain text was commonly used at Paris. How exactly it came to be accepted is a minor point. This is a matter for further inquiry, like the precise manner of the reception of the *Gloss*.

was the text in the light of both patristic and medieval tradition, indissolubly wedded to it in the *Gloss*.¹

The Paris masters, from the early twelfth century onwards, had no illusions as to its quality. The *correctoria*,² or lists of corrections and alternative readings, which were first introduced by the Dominicans, represent a specialization and systematization of the textual criticism in Stephen Langton's lectures. Their continuity with earlier scholarship appears in the frequent quotations of Andrew and Langton by Hugh of St. Cher in his *correctorium* (1244-63).

Bacon held that the correction merely aggravated the evil; correctors did not restrict themselves to St. Jerome's translation, but collected readings from other versions, which then crept into the text. He was attacking especially the Dominican corrections. Investigation of Hugh of St. Cher's correction shows that Bacon was not altogether just. Hugh says in his introduction that his main sources are the glosses of the Fathers, the original Greek and Hebrew, and also—what Bacon approved of—ancient Latin Bibles, going back to Charlemagne. Moreover, like his predecessors, he collected many of his alternatives for interest, without committing himself either for or against them. They were liable to be inserted into the text by the fault of copyists, for which he was not responsible, as had happened to the *Hexapla* of Origen. Nevertheless, it seems that Hugh was confused as to his main purpose, as Bacon said. He did not distinguish the restoration of the Vulgate text from its comparison with the originals and with other versions. He was trying to combine two things which were both necessary but required to be kept separate. Other correctors shared his confusion. The aim becomes clearer in some later *correctoria* which were drawn up by the Franciscans. Bacon's friend, the English Franciscan, William de la Mare, who was teaching at Paris from about 1260 and died probably in 1290, prepared the *Correctorium D* which impressed Denifle as the most learned

¹ See H. Glunz, *The Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon* (Cambridge, 1933), 259-65. I agree with Dr. Glunz that the Paris text must have been a glossed text. He goes further and holds that it was the glossed text which had belonged to Peter Lombard. Since Langton actually contrasts this *Liber Lombardi* with the glossed text which he (Langton) was lecturing on (see above, p. 178, n. 2), this conjecture seems highly improbable.

² On the *correctoria* see *Quam notitiam*, 26-36; H. Denifle, op. cit. (p. 153, n. 2); E. Mangelot, art. 'Hugues de St Cher', *Dict. de la Bible*, op. cit. (p. 193, n. 2), where full references are given.

and scientific of the century.¹ Both he and an anonymous contemporary corrector,² author of the *Correctorium E*, state explicitly that the Vulgate text is not to be altered wherever it diverges from the Hebrew. Both were competent Hebraists and assumed that scholars would also study the originals. It would be difficult to say, at present, whether they owed their ideas to Bacon, or vice versa. They were the second generation of correctors and could learn from the mistakes of the first.

Thanks to the work of Martin and Denifle, we know more of the *correctoria* than of any other side of thirteenth-century Bible study. Berger also showed the importance of the *De Hebraeis et Graecis vocabulis glossarum Bibliae* by William de la Mare and the *Liber Triglossos* of Brother Gerard of Huy (a Franciscan, probably belonging to William's school). Both give instruction on Greek and Hebrew grammar; William adds notes, mainly linguistic, on the text.³ All these aids to scientific study resemble the concordances in being only the more obvious symptoms of a great movement for approaching the original sources.

Bacon complained of slow progress in the study of Greek: there had been a revival under Grosseteste; since then the work of translation had lapsed. Bacon's praise of Grosseteste is fully borne out by recent study of his translations and of those of his circle.⁴ Grosseteste's commentaries on the Hexaemeron and the Psalter show a deliberate cult of the Greek Fathers. When he could not get the original he used a catena.⁵ It was no search for novelty as such. Grosseteste shows his earnestness by using the Latin translation of St. Basil on the Hexaemeron, which had been known to Bede, but had been little used in later centuries; the compilers of the *Gloss*, Andrew, the Chanter, and Langton all ignore it. He borrowed, and kept, a copy of St. Basil from the monks of St. Edmundsbury, leaving them a collection of twelfth-century glosses on the *Gloss* in pledge. The exchange was symbolic. Grosseteste preferred the original sources to lectures on 'select extracts'.⁶

¹ Denifle tentatively identified him with the *homo sapientissimus* referred to by Bacon, 298, 545. On William's life and works see E. Longpré in *Dict. Théol. Cath.* viii. 2467-70. ² Denifle, 298-311. ³ *Quam notitiam*, 36-48.

⁴ See E. Franceschini, 'Grosseteste's Translation of Maximus', &c., *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxiv (1933), 355-63; S. H. Thomson, 'A Note on Grosseteste's Work of Translation', *ibid.* 48-50, where references to other recent papers will be found.

⁵ M. R. James, 'Robert Grosseteste on the Psalms', *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxiii (1921), 183-5.

⁶ B. Smalley, 'A Collection of Paris Lectures', &c., *op. cit.* (p. 41, n. 1), 103-5.

The next generation of commentators continued to prize those works of the Greek Fathers which were available in translation. The book which St. Thomas Aquinas preferred to the whole town of Paris was St. John Chrysostom on St. Matthew (translated by Burgundio of Pisa in the later twelfth century). A superficial acquaintance with Greek became more common. But it is true that Greek studies lagged in comparison: only one of the correctors whose works have been studied, the Franciscan, Gerard of Huy, knew more Greek than Hebrew.

Hebrew, in fact, absorbed and must to some extent have distracted Bacon's contemporaries from the study of Greek. Here he does them less than justice. The thirteenth century marked amazing progress from the Hebraism 'of desire' of the twelfth century, when scholars had depended on French conversation with Jews, through the tentative efforts of Langton, Maniacoria, and Nequam, the respectable knowledge of Hugh of St. Cher, to the real scholarship of Gerard and of William de la Mare. Moreover, these scholars, whose works happen to be known to us, are not isolated figures. The list of thirteenth-century Hebraists is growing. The importance of Jewish converts, especially to the Dominican Order, has recently been stressed again.¹ We have elusive references to a school for the study of Hebrew set up by the Dominicans at Paris about 1236.² We have evidence in the careful and sometimes critical study of Andrew's commentaries,³ and in the Christian introduction to the Talmud in a Paris manuscript of the mid-thirteenth century.⁴ We have further evidence in the Hebrew manuscripts possessed by Christian libraries, and in the parallel Hebrew-Latin versions of Scripture, some of which date from the thirteenth century. Some of these manuscripts, like the Hebrew-Latin Psalter at St. Victor, are known to us only from old library catalogues;⁵ others survive, like the beautiful Hebrew-Latin Psalter at Westminster. A complete list and classification

¹ B. Altaner, 'Zur Kenntnis des Hebräischen im Mittelalter', *Biblische Zeitschr.* xxi (1933), 288-308.

² See P. Mandonnet, 'Dominicains', op. cit. (p. 58, n. 1), 1471-2, on the study of Hebrew in the Dominican Order. In *St Dominique*, op. cit. (p. 246, n. 4), i. 195, he states without giving references: 'vers ce temps (1236) une école d'hébreu semble avoir été établie à Paris'.

³ See above, p. 148.
⁴ E. Klibansky, 'Zur Talmudkenntnis des christlichen Mittelalters', *Beziehungen des christlichen Mittelalters zum Judentum*, 458-62.

⁵ L. Delisle, *Le Cabinet des mss. de la Bibl. nat.* (1874), ii. 229.

would be of great value for our knowledge of the diffusion of Hebrew studies.

Berger pointed out that one group of Hebrew-Latin manuscripts, in English hands and all at present in English libraries, contained, in addition to the Hebrew and the Vulgate, a new Latin translation from the Hebrew.¹ The Hebrew and Vulgate are in parallel columns; the Psalters are exceptional in having a double Latin version, the Gallican or Vulgate, and the *Hebraica* of St. Jerome, which is next to the Hebrew. The new Latin translation is written as an interlinear gloss to the Hebrew, word for word. The translator's identity is unknown. He obviously intended his work for scholars wishing to compare the known Latin versions with the original. He took the wording of the Vulgate as the basis of his translation and adapted it, so as to give a more literal rendering where he found disagreement. Berger felt convinced that the same scholar was responsible for the whole. His work survives in copies which give an almost complete translation of the Old Testament. None of them has any marks of provenance.

A study of the three surviving manuscripts of the Psalter has cleared up a little of the mystery which surrounds him.² We know that his translation of the Psalter, at least, was ordered by Grosseteste. The bishop of Lincoln had it written over the Hebrew of his Psalter, 'where three or four Psalters' were 'contained together in one' (*simul coniunctim*). It is quoted by a later commentator as the *superscriptio Lincolnensis*.

The earliest existing copy is MS. Corpus Christi College Oxford 10, written in hands of the second quarter of the thirteenth century. An anonymous prologue prefixed to the Psalters in this manuscript explains the aim of the new translation. I think that the author of the prologue was Grosseteste. He takes responsibility for publication and justifies himself for doing so; but he does not claim to be the translator. The freshly devotional tone of the prologue, the decision and the wide outlook, all remind one of Grosseteste, scholar, bishop, and saint.

¹ *Quam notitiam*, 49-53.

² B. Smalley, 'Hebrew Scholarship among Christians in Thirteenth-Century England, as illustrated by some Hebrew-Latin Psalters; a paper read to the Society for Old Testament Study', *Lectiones in Vetere Testamento et in Rebus Judaicis* (1939), no. 6. References unless specially mentioned will be found here. The pamphlet has photographs of the four Psalters described. It was prepared in collaboration with Mr. H. Loewe.

Contemplating the mysteries hidden in the Psalter, he approaches, with reverent humility, 'even the literal Hebrew veil or outer rind'. He excuses himself for the novelty of his undertaking. Many scholars have translated the Psalter without intending disrespect to one another; St. Jerome altered and corrected his own. His text is corrupt and needs correction. The Vulgate disagrees in many passages with the Hebrew. The writer gives examples, showing the discrepancies between the Vulgate and 'the Hebrew', which he quotes in the new Latin translation. It is only right, he concludes, to know and concord both Scriptures of the Church, who is mother and mistress of all peoples alike:

'Therefore, in order to quiet this collision and conflict in their mother's womb, it may be thought not unprofitable to bring the peoples together into the unity of faith under the leadership of Christ, by reconciling such differences, through a knowledge of both tongues and both Scriptures, and to put them side by side, lest, because they differ, they should always fight.

'This zeal of God's house incites me to publish the Scripture of the Hebrews, as confirmation for the faithful and as a call to the infidel; yet in such a way that if it be found superfluous, or lacking, or erroneous, let brotherly charity remove, or add, or correct. I refuse not the spur of reproof or correction but only that of enmity. For *let the just man reprove me in mercy: but let not the oil of the sinner fatten my head* [from Ps. cxl. 5].'¹

The conventional invitation to 'alter and correct' was accepted. We have evidence that later scholars appreciated

¹ I hope to edit the whole prologue later, in a detailed study of the Psalters. Here I transcribe the last paragraphs:

Fo. 1^d: '... Ideoque non estimo minus iustum ecclesie que omnium nationum mater est et magistra utramque scripturam cognoscere, necnon et utramque concordare. Scio enim quod in utraque dissonantia sit, ut plerumque quod est in nostra desit in illa, et quod in illa est desit in nostra, necnon et in eodem loco dissimiliter habeamus et aliquando opposito modo . . . [examples follow].

'Unde propter huiusmodi collisionem in utero matris et pugnam mitigandam, non inutile credi potest dissonantias tales conciliando per diversarum linguarum notitiam et scripturarum, Christo duce, gentes in unitatem fidei congregare, et ne per dissonantiam scripturarum semper pugnent, scripturas pariter coaptare.

'Zelus igitur hic domus Dei me stimulat ut ad confirmationem fidelium et infidelium vocationem scripturam Ebreorum edisseram, ita tamen ut si superfluum inveniat caritative tollatur, ac minus supleatur, ad devium fraterne corrigatur. Non enim correctionis aut correctionis stimulum renuo, sed invidie; *iustus enim in misericordia increpet, oleum autem peccatoris*', &c.

The last clause is a rough quotation from Ps. cxl. 5. The 'increpet' is evidently taken from the *superscriptio* (in loc.), since the Vulgate has: 'increpabit', and the *Hebraica*: 'arguet'.

Grosseteste's guide to the Hebrew Psalter and studied it intensively. His original *superscriptio* is lost; but we know that at least four copies of it existed. We have two complete: the MS. Corpus 10, which contains the prologue, and a rather later copy, MS. Trinity R. 8. 6. The MS. Corpus Christi College Oxford 11 contains many quotations from a third. A later writer, the Cambridge Franciscan, Henry Cossey (who died probably in 1336), quotes extensively from a fourth.¹ If all these are collated and compared with the quotations in the prologue, which presumably were taken from the original *superscriptio* belonging to Grosseteste, we find a number of differences. They cannot be explained by scribal carelessness, but are due to intelligent revision and comparison. Sometimes they derive from different shades of meaning in the Hebrew, sometimes from variants in the Hebrew text; one will follow the *Ḳere* or read text, another the *Ḳetib* or written text.

We also have the evidence of marginal glosses to the Psalters. MSS. Corpus 10 and Trinity R. 8. 6 both have a few linguistic glosses and transliterations of Hebrew words. Since there is no common material, here we have two unknown scholars working independently of each other. MS. Corpus 11, which contains a Hebrew-Latin Psalter (the *Hebraica* only) written in the late thirteenth century, has both a marginal gloss and a kind of *correctorium*. The *superscriptio Lincolnensis* is quoted as *Iudeus dicit* among the variant readings collected.² This Psalter too has its prologue, in which the anonymous glossator explains the purpose of the manuscript. It is an attempt to group all the known Latin versions together for comparison with the Hebrew.

The glossator begins by enumerating the 'six or seven' Latin translations of the Psalter which he has been able to find.³ He has had the *Hebraica* written beside the Hebrew, in order that those skilled in both languages may see how far it differs or agrees. He has noted by signs in the margin the variant readings from these other versions, except those of 'the Vulgate, which is called Gallican', since almost every-

¹ In his commentary on the Psalter, MS. Christ's College Cambridge 11. See 'Hebrew Scholarship', &c.

² Berger noticed that this Psalter had no interlinear translation, but did not see that extracts from the *superscriptio* were quoted among the *marginalia*.

³ I hope later on to edit this prologue also and to discuss the medieval tradition of the Latin translations and their authorship, which is too complicated to embark on here.

one either possesses or knows it by heart. This is his conclusion:

‘And so in this manuscript I have written all the aforesaid translations briefly beside the *Hebraica*, that having tested them all I may choose that which is better, and that one may bear witness to another in refutation of the worse. The extent of error in our Vulgate version appears in the Hebrew; and the other translations witness it too, now one, now another, now several together, almost at every verse, for it sometimes has more, sometimes less, sometimes other than the true one [i.e. the Hebrew]. The same, more or less, with all the translations, for that which is called St. Jerome’s differs less from the Hebrew; but it does sometimes, owing to corruption introduced by others, or to his own carelessness or lack of skill, for “the good Homer sometimes sleeps”. He does not claim to have set down the Hebrew truth altogether, but to have changed nothing wittingly. . . .

‘But as he was instructed and helped by the earlier translations, so am I, both by his and the others (for that reason I have noted them), and also by the Jews. I make bold to correct any one of them, by the witness of the others, following now one, now another, now none of them, but demonstrating from elsewhere. And this I do, not presumptuously nor rashly, but after very careful collation and examination of ours and inquiry into the Hebrew truth, and so with manifest condemnation of error and the witness of the Jews.’¹

The difference in tone between this prologue and Grosseteste’s is very striking. It signifies half a century’s progress

¹ Fo. 110^v (the note has been put at the end instead of the beginning: ‘Hanc notulam debui posuisse in principio’):

‘Itaque in hoc codice iuxta Hebraicam breviter conscripsi, quoad diversitatis notitiam, omnes pertactas translationes ut omnibus probatis tenerem quod melius est, et ut una alteri attestetur ad reprehensionem peioris. Quantum autem sit error in nostra usitata, patet in Hebreo, testibus quoque aliis translationibus, nunc quidem una, nunc alia, nunc simul pluribus pene per singulos versus, quia quandoque minus, quandoque plus, quandoque aliter habet a vero. Similiter et quelibet aliarum licet sit magis et minus; nam illa que dicitur Ieronimi minus discordat ab Hebreo, et tamen aliquando, sive per corruptionem ab aliis factam in translatione sua, sive per suam negligentiam aut imperitiam, quia quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus [Horace, *A.P.* 359]. Unde ipse non asserit se omnino veritatem Hebraicam posuisse, sed nihil de ea scienter mutasse. . . .

‘Sed sicut ipse instructus et adiutus per precedentes translationes, ita ego tam per illam quam per ceteras, propter quod eas contuli, quam etiam per Hebreos, audeo quamlibet earum corrigere, et ceterarum attestatione, nunc unam nunc aliam nunc nullam earum sequens, sed aliunde convincens, et hoc, non quidem presumptuose aut precipitanter, sed diligentissima nostrum collatione et examinatione et Hebraice veritatis inquisitione, et sic manifestissima erroris reprobatione et Hebreorum attestatione.’

in Hebrew studies. The anonymous glossator of MS. Corpus 11 sees no need to justify himself as an innovator, no need to compare the Vulgate in detail with the Hebrew, no need to rely on any one translation. Being able to read the original, he can make his own choice. His naïve arrogance towards St. Jerome and the Fathers in general is one of the accepted signs of 'coming of age'. His glosses show an extensive knowledge of Hebrew and a smattering of Greek. He has questioned the Jews unweariedly as to their liturgical traditions and constantly quotes Maimonides. He has collated four copies of St. Jerome's *Hebraica*; he has noted the variants in Hebrew manuscripts as well as in Latin, and has consulted 'his Jew' as to the better text.

This enterprising scholar is connected in some way with the English Dominican, Nicholas Trivet, who left a commentary on the Psalter, dedicated to John of Bristol (his provincial, 1317-20). Trivet breaks with the custom of expounding the Gallican version and chooses the *Hebraica* of St. Jerome instead. He often refers to the Hebrew text, and his quotations correspond to the *superscriptio Lincolnensis*. Collation with the gloss in MS. Corpus 11 shows that this was an important source for Trivet's commentary.¹ Sometimes there is verbal identity, sometimes expansion or compression. The fifteenth-century scholar, Thomas Gascoigne, who knew Trivet's commentary and quotes from it directly, notes that he saw a copy of Trivet on the Psalter at a London stationer's 'containing a translation from the Hebrew with a parallel Hebrew text'.² Gascoigne's description suggests the MS. Corpus 11 itself. Perhaps the MS. Corpus 11 was Trivet's own note-book, which he afterwards worked up into a commentary; we know that he did make preliminary drafts of his commentaries on other books. Or perhaps the anonymous glossator was his master. Further research on Trivet's exegesis must settle which.

In the meantime, it is pleasant to connect our earliest copy of the *superscriptio* with Grosseteste, our latest with Trivet, the Trinity Psalter filling up the gap between. Lastly we have Henry Cossey, whose three main sources are the

¹ The MS. Bodley 738, which contains the full text of Trivet's commentary on the Psalter, has been used for collation. I am very grateful to Miss Ruth Dean for giving me a list of the manuscripts of Trivet on the Psalter and other information from her doctoral thesis on Nicholas Trivet.

² W. A. Pronger, 'Thomas Gascoigne', *English Historical Review*, liii (1938), 621; liv (1939), 20.

superscriptio Lincolniensis, Nicholas Trivet, and Nicholas of Lyra.¹

Another interesting group of Psalters contains the Hebrew text alone, with a Latin-French gloss. A Hebrew Psalter which came into the possession of Thomas Gascoigne and is now MS. Bodley Or. 621 has notes in a hand of the thirteenth century, probably English, giving transliterations and French or Latin equivalents to many of the Hebrew words. A manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Hébreu 113, noted by Berger, has the same type of gloss on the first ten psalms. MS. Lambeth 435 has a much fuller gloss.² Its margins have linguistic notes, comments on Old Testament history, on anti-Jewish polemic, and interpretation; its interlinear gloss gives an almost complete translation of the Psalter from Hebrew into a quaint mixture of French, Latin, and Latinized French; notes on Hebrew grammar and syntax cover the fly-leaves. The hands of the glossators in both MSS. Hébr. 113 and Lambeth 435 are not long after the middle of the thirteenth century, whereas the glosses in MS. Bodl. Or. 621 might be rather earlier. The Lambeth glossator has marked English characteristics and the names scribbled on one of the fly-leaves struck M. R. James as possibly Norfolk. Otherwise not one of the manuscripts has any mark of provenance. All three glossators write in the hands of scholars rather than professionals.

None of the three shows any sign of acquaintance with the *superscriptio Lincolniensis*, nor, judging from a rapid survey, do they seem to depend one on another.³ Here then we have three private note-books of scholars, all separately studying the Psalms in the original.

The Hebrew script in both the Hebrew and the Hebrew-

¹ Cossey quotes verbatim from Trivet's commentary.

² Mr. Loewe has allowed me to use his paper on the Lambeth Psalter, read to the Society for Old Testament Study. A fuller account, with references and an illustration, will be found in 'Hebrew scholarship, &c.'. See Plate II.

³ For example, both MSS. Hébr. 113 and Lambeth 435 have a note on *scelerum* Ps. v. 11, giving various Hebrew words for 'sin'; but they are not identical.

MS. Hébr. 113, fo. 3^r:

Het. peccatum grande.

Avon. peccatum parvum scil. fornicatione.

Pesa. culpa.

MS. Lambeth 435, fo. 3^r:

Pesa est culpa quam homo facit quasi in despectu domini sui.

Attaz est peccatum quod homo facit quasi ignoranter.

Avon est peccatum scienter et pro edia corporis sui.

} ita
differunt.

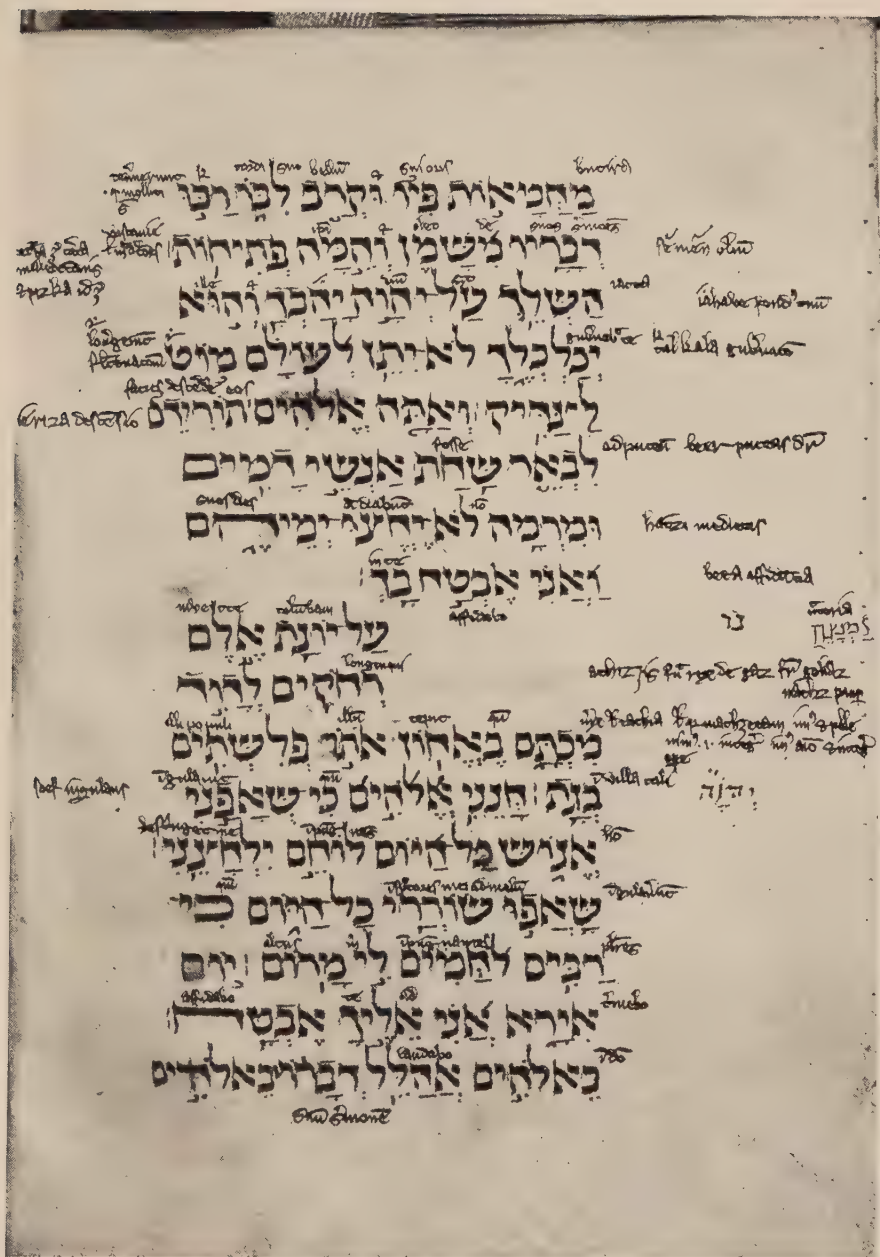
Latin Psalters raises an important problem. The little MS. Bodley Or. 621 stands apart. It resembles an unglossed Hebrew Psalter which used to belong to the monks of Bury, now MS. Laud Or. 174,¹ in that both are professionally written and prettily illuminated and could easily have been acquired from Jews. This must have happened quite frequently: we know that Henry Cossey used a Hebrew Psalter belonging to a recent convert, 'Master I'. All the other Psalters, both the *superscriptio* group and MSS. Hébr. 113 and Lambeth 435, have their Hebrew text written by scribes who, although they wrote well, did not observe the technical rules of the highly specialized Jewish profession. The same kind of script is found in another thirteenth-century Hebrew-Latin Psalter, which lacks the interlinear translation and the *Hebraica* of St. Jerome, but otherwise resembles the *superscriptio* group, MS. Westminster 2.² The scribes in each case have failed to keep the left-hand side of their column straight. They make many mistakes and omissions. Almost each folio has some correction. The scribe of the Lambeth Psalter does not scruple to erase the Tetragrammaton, when he has added it accidentally. As William de la Mare noted, a Jewish scribe would never erase the holy name; he encircled it to show that it had been written superfluously.³

It seems unlikely that Christian scribes could ever have learnt to form such beautiful Hebrew characters. The glossators of MSS. Lambeth 435 and Corpus 11 frequently write Hebrew words in their linguistic comments; their clumsy script is very different from that of the Psalters. In some cases the mistakes in the Psalters are due to confusion with the Hebrew of another psalm, where the wording is similar but not identical. Only a man who knew the Hebrew Psalter thoroughly by heart would have been liable to make a mistake of this sort. The existence of six Hebrew Psalters, all written by amateurs, can hardly be a mere coincidence. It suggests that Jewish converts were regularly employed by Christian scholars to write Hebrew, or that there was

¹ See M. R. James, *The Abbey of St. Edmund at Bury*, i (Cambridge, 1895), 3, 87.

² See J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The MSS. of Westminster Abbey* (Cambridge, 1909), 64. I did not mention this Psalter in 'Hebrew Scholarship' as it has no *superscriptio*. The initials rather resemble those of MS. Corpus 10; but the hand is different and the Hebrew has been written first as in MS. Trinity R. 8. 6, whereas in MS. Corpus 10 the Latin was written first. The hand appears to me to be second quarter of the thirteenth century. There is one linguistic note in the margin.

³ *Quam notitiam*, 41.



II. MS. Lambeth 435. Hebrew Psalter with Latin and Anglo-Norman gloss, written in England in the mid-13th century

some working system of enlisting non-professional Jewish services.

The value of the *superscriptio* and of the Latin-French gloss in the Lambeth Psalter, as translations, requires further study. Both are objective and even stimulating in their fresh literalness; they aim at keeping close to the Hebrew and a comparison of their ideas gives some interesting variants. The Lambeth glosses particularly contain some surprises, both linguistic and historical.

This glossator was able to write and understand Hebrew, though he knew less than the glossator of MS. Corpus 11, and he makes some mistakes. He had a Jew to instruct him: 'rabi dixit . . .'. A grammatical note and a Midrash are ascribed to his rabbi. He also refers to an unfamiliar Hebrew spelling which he saw 'in my master's book', probably the rabbi's own Psalter.

Old Testament scholars will be astonished to hear that he used the more widely accepted modern transcription of the Tetragrammaton. He writes it as IAHAVE,¹ which comes very close to JAHWEH. How he arrived at it is a mystery and unfortunately he does not discuss it. The 'monstrous form' Jehoveh was already known to Christians in the later thirteenth century. Henry Cossey seems to compromise between Jehoveh and Jahweh by writing IEHAVE. The *superscriptio* merely translates: 'Deus'; the glossator of MS. Corpus 11 says that the Jews read it as 'Adonai', that is 'Dominus'.² The glossator of the Lambeth Psalter could hardly have derived his form from the Fathers. St. Jerome used IAHO; the IABE of the Greek Father, Theodoret, was probably unknown to him; nor was he likely to have been in contact with the Samaritans, who until quite recent times pronounced 'Jahweh'. His transcription seems to have been unknown to the Renaissance scholars. Only more detailed work on thirteenth-century glosses would show whether he were exceptional in his own period or not.

If we pass to his interpretation we find that his point of view is unusual in a Christian commentator. This is his gloss on Ps. cix. 1, the prophecy quoted in the Gospel and in Acts:³ *The Lord said to my Lord: sit thou at my right hand: until I make my enemies thy footstool.* He expounds it, not of Christ, but of David and Saul or of David and Solomon; a play

¹ Fo. 21^r. See 'Hebrew Scholarship &c.'.

² Fo. 34^r.

³ Matt. xxii. 44; Acts ii. 34-5.

on the Hebrew word suggests David's persecution by Saul the Benjamite:

'David here calls Saul his *lord*; or David prophesied of Solomon his son.

Sit or wait, as if to say: "suffer". Thus the Lord told David that he should suffer Saul, *until*, &c.

'*Iemini* [i.e. *at my right hand*] shall be called Benjamin and Saul came of Benjamin.'¹

He expounds verses 6-7: . . . *he shall crush the heads in the land of many. He shall drink of the torrent in the way*, of Ezechias' victory over Sennacherib [Isa. xxxvi-xxxvii]. The names are carefully transliterated:

'Chaneherebbe was king of Nineve and Assyria which were great lands. Hizkiiia, who was of the stem of David, conquered him.'²

'This was Chaneherebbe who invested Jerusalem and returning crossed Jordan with all his men and boasted of himself; and the Lord sent angels from heaven and turned back his army and Hizkiiia conquered him; and of the latter Isaias prophesied and said: *Behold a virgin etc.*'³

His sources for this interpretation are the Midrash and Rashi.⁴ Either he accepted them as giving the true literal meaning of the Psalm and denied it a messianic character, or he was merely jotting them in his note-book among the curious things which his rabbi told him. Perhaps he was a spiritual descendant of Andrew, who had read and admired Andrew's interpretation of Isaias.

When Cardinal Cajetan, the great Thomist of the early sixteenth century, undertook to expound the Psalter literally, he supposed himself to be one of the first to do so:

'Only that sense of the Psalter which they call literal is clear

¹ Fo. 101^v: 'David vocat hic Saulem dominum suum vel David prophetavit super Salomonem filium suum.

² *adsede* vel *attende*, quasi diceret: *paterere*. Ita dixit Dominus ad David quod pateretur Saulem donec etc.

³ 'Iemini vocabitur Benjamin et Saul venit de Benjamin.'

⁴ Ibid.: 'Chaneherebbe fuit rex de Nineve et Assur que erant magne terre. Hezkiiia qui fuit de prole David vicit illum.'

⁵ Fo. 102^r: 'Hic fuit Chaneherebbe qui obsederat Ierusalem et convertendo obibat Iordanem tot quos habuit et iactavit se et misit Dominus angelos de celo et converserunt [*sic*] exercitum suum et Hizkiiia vicit illum et super istum prophetavit Isayas et dixit: *ecce virgo etc.*'

⁶ For the interpretation of *Iemini*, *at my right hand*, as a reference to Saul the Benjamite see the utterance of R. Shalom the Levite in Midrash Ps. cx, section 5, ed. Buber, fo. 233^b. The idea is to be found in the Targum. The source for his comment on 6-7 is Rashi, in loc.

to none, but still obscure, since almost all who have published commentaries on it have propounded only the mystical senses. The Psalms are read and sung so often in church that their literal meaning ought to be plainer and clearer than that of other books.¹

Cajetan cannot have studied the English commentators of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. The glosses in MSS. Lambeth 435 and Corpus 11 are exclusively literal; so are the commentaries of Nicholas Trivet and Henry Cossey. The technical side of his subject had such interest for Trivet that he illustrated it by drawings of the Psalter as a musical instrument. Like Cajetan, he restricts the number of the messianic Psalms; and even in this residue he keeps the Jewish exposition as a contrast to the Christian. On Ps. xxi, for instance, he says that he shall give the literal meaning according to both interpretations, 'that truth may appear more clearly when set beside fiction',² thus betraying his interest in the Jewish view. Cajetan's title to his commentary, *Psalmi Davidici ad Hebraicam veritatem castigati et iuxta sensum quem literalem vocant enarrati*, would perfectly suit either Trivet's or Cossey's, while the Lambeth glossator goes further in excluding a Christological interpretation than any of them.

It is perhaps even more surprising to find a literal interpretation of the Canticle. This book, according to western tradition, had always been expounded of Christ and the Church, Christ and the faithful soul, or, from the twelfth century, of the Blessed Virgin. The same MS. Vat. Lat. 1053, which contains an almost complete collection of Andrew, has an anonymous *Expositio Hystorica Cantici Canticorum secundum Salomonem*: ff. 105^a-114^d. It is written in the same Paris hand as the rest of the manuscript, about 1300;³ and the one Hebrew word that occurs in it (fo. 107^b) is in the ordinary Anglo-French script. The author consistently uses the modern chapter division; hence he must have been

¹ Quoted by A. Allgeier, 'Les Commentaires de Cajétan sur les Psaumes', *Revue Thomiste*, N.S. xvii (1934), special no. 41-5.

² MS. Bodley 738, fo. 40^{r-v}: 'Psalmus xx apud Hebreos, xxi apud nos, expressam valde continet prophetiam de passione Christi secundum litteram, quamvis Iudei dicant compositum de liberatione populi Israel per Hester a persecutione Aman. Ponemus autem expositionem litteralem utroque modo ut pateat magis veritas posita iuxta umbram.' On Ps. cix he discusses and disputes the Jewish interpretation of Saul or Solomon (fo. 198^r); his source here is MS. Corpus 11, fo. 92^r.

³ See above, p. 147.

working after about 1230. He does not refer to verses, nor does he divide and subdivide, which suggests that he worked before the end of the thirteenth century. Unfortunately the scribe who produced this text, or his predecessors, did not understand the references to Hebrew and the text is sometimes unintelligible. No other copy is known. The association with Andrew, and the fact that the work is called by the same title as Andrew's, *expositio historica*, must mean either that the commentator took Andrew as his model, extending Andrew's method to the Canticle, or that a later student remarked the similarity and had them copied together into the same volume. In either case, a comparison with Andrew on the Prophets shows, very forcibly, what progress had been made in the period between the two.

Like Andrew, this anonymous commentator refers to the Hebrew; but he could read it in the original and he understood some technical points of Hebrew grammar.¹ Like Andrew, he aims at giving a literal exposition; that is, he wants to explain the meaning and purpose of his author, in this case Solomon. Like Andrew, he has recourse to rabbinic tradition. His main sources are Rashi and the Midrash. The prologue is almost a verbal translation of Rashi, with the same scriptural quotations. In one place he even refers to the *Peṣikṭa*, presumably because Rashi on the same text refers to it as his source.² He does not acknowledge Rashi;

¹ His translations from the Hebrew are literal:

Fo. 105^c on Cant. i. 4: '*... pelles Salomonis*; in Hebreo habetur sicut cortine Salomonis.'

Fo. 106^b on Cant. i. 15: '*lectulus noster floridus*; Hebreus habet frondosus.'

Fo. 107^b on Cant. ii. 13: '*Surge tibi*.'

Fo. 114^c he notes on viii. 12: '*Mille tui pacifici*. Hebreus habet tibi Salomoni et ideo patet quod *li* tui et *li* pacifici sunt genitivi singulares.'

He may be transliterating לֵּי *le* by *li*, and his meaning seems to be that the preposition *le* in 'my vineyard which is mine' and again in 'to thee Solomon' can express a genitive, which is quite true. The same comment appears in the *Postilla* of Nicholas of Lyre, in loc.: '*Tui pacifici* sunt genitivi casus singularis numeri.' But Father Daniel Callus suggests that *li* may also be the usual *li* or *ly* of the scholastics, which points out a special meaning of a word.

² Fo. 107^b on ii. 13: '*... in alio autem qui dicitur pēisquala* [*sic*, for *Peṣikṭa*, the old form] exponitur idem sic: *Ficus protulit grossos suos* quia in illo triduo quo fuerunt tenebre in terra Egypti, Exod. x, mortui sunt omnes peccatores magni Iudeorum qui non erant digni liberari de Egypto, et ideo tunc, quia noluit Dominus quod viderent Egyptii mortem Hebreorum et letarentur; et tunc vinee florentes dederunt odorem i.e. residui qui remanserunt egerunt penitentiam et placuit Deo.' The whole passage is in Rashi, ending: 'so this is explained in the *Peṣikṭa*'. See *Peṣikṭa Rabathi*, xv, ed. Freedman, fo. 75^a.

but he does give the names of the rabbis in two anecdotes which he takes from the Midrash.¹ He is much closer to his written sources than Andrew; they are no longer simply *Hebraei*. He probably relied on oral tradition also, since at least one of his explanations is not in the obvious sources, though it might well be a Midrash.²

The whole content of the work is rabbinic. The theme is God's love for Israel, as the prologue explains:

'Solomon, foreseeing in the spirit that the people of Israel would be taken captive, in manifold captivity, and being in captivity would bewail God's former love and familiarity towards her, when she was his peculiar people among all nations, as she was called in Deut. vii: *The Lord thy God hath chosen thee etc.*, and that she would say the same, Osee ii: *I will go and return to my first husband*, and foreseeing what God has promised to give her at the end of time, composed this book, under the metaphor of a woman, who is left widowed by her husband, still alive, and who desires and sighs to return to him, and is joined to him in love, remembering the love of her youth. And the bridegroom has compassion for her in her hardship, recalling the kindness of her youth, her good works and beauties, which joined him to her in strong love, that thus he may convey to her that he has not humbled her willingly, nor

¹ Fo. 105^a (prologue): '... Unde dicit rabi Eliezer quod rex quidam tradidit sextarium frumenti pistori suo ut inde faceret ei panem; fecit ille ex illo frumento primo panem nigrum et grossum pro familia; alium fecit subtiliorem pro armigeris et militibus; tertium fecit de simila, quasi panem regium. Sic Salomon de sapientia sibi data fecit primo Proverbia pro insipientibus. . . .'
Fo. 108^b on iii. 11: 'Quesivit rabi Hanina a rabi Symeon filio rabi Helyeser sapientissimi, utrum aliquando audivisset a patre suo exponi id quod dicitur: *in dyademate quo coronavit eum mater sua*. Respondit ille quod pater suus hoc exponens dicebat quod rex quidam habebat filiam unicam quam ex magna dilectione vocabat filiam suam; post, crescente amore, vocavit eam sororem suam; tandem ex amore excellenti vocavit eam matrem suam. Sic Deus populum Israeliticum gentem peculiarem vocabat filiam, Ps. [xliv. 11]: *audi filia*, et inde post sororem, idem v: *aperi michi soror mea* [2], tandem matrem, Ys. li: *attendite ad me populus [sic] meus et tribus mea me audite* [4] Hebreus habet: et mater mea me audite. Hec enim sunt nomina amoris: filia, soror et mater. Ideo dicit hic *in dyademate quo coronavit eum mater sua*. Audita tam eleganti responsione rabi Hanina osculatus est caput rabi Symeonis.' Both these anecdotes are in the *Talkut*, a collection of extracts from the Midrash; but the second one follows the original Midrash more closely than the *Talkut*.

² Fo. 107^a on ii. 12: '*Tempus putationis advenit*; Hebreus habet tempus cantus quasi diceret: tempus venit quando cantabitis canticum scil. in exitu maris rubri, Exod xv; *vox turturis* que est avis casta et habet gemitum pro cantu et significat Mariam sororem Moysi que castissima fuit et interpretatur amaritudo.' The crossing of the Red Sea is derived from his sources, but not the reference to Miriam. He may have taken one of the Christian expositions of the Blessed Virgin and adapted it to the Mary of the Old Testament; if so, it would be a curious inversion of what was generally done.

quite repudiated her, but rather that he is still her husband and she still his wife. . . .¹

The Canticle is then expounded of the Exodus, the giving of the Law and so on. There is not one Christological allusion from beginning to end of the 'historical' section. Nevertheless, if we consider his sources, we see that the author's selection from the rabbis is a thoughtful and deliberate one. Unlike Andrew, this commentator is far from supposing that the literal exposition is everything which 'the Jews say'. He has restricted himself to the Old Testament and rigidly excluded all the many messianic interpretations of the rabbis. If his Solomon does not prophesy the coming of Christ, neither does he refer to the Jewish Messias. The commentator shows his intention clearly in the last sentence, where he refers for the first time to the spiritual sense. Instead of giving one of the usual spiritual interpretations, he keeps the unity of his theme, the promise to Israel:

'And I say that all this is fulfilled spiritually, as regards the Jews converted to Christ, and further shall be fulfilled spiritually, as regards the Jews who are to be converted at the end of the world.'²

If we put this exposition of the Canticle, and Trivet on the Psalter, beside the *Postillae* of Nicholas of Lyre, we shall see that Lyre is conservative in comparison. In his prologue to the Canticle, Lyre says that the Jews expound it of God and Israel (as our anonymous commentator does), the Christians commonly of Christ and the Church. Both expositions involve difficulties, which Lyre will avoid by a compromise. He will expound the first part as referring to the Synagogue in the Old Testament, the second part to the Church in the

¹ Fo. 105^a: 'Salomon providens in spiritu quod populus Israel captivandus erat multiplici captivitate et in captivitate positus lamentaturus erat super familiaritate et amore Dei quondam ad ipsum, quando erat ei populus peculiaris de cunctis gentibus, ut dicitur Deut. vii: *te eligit Dominus Deus tuus* . . . et dicturus erat idem, Osee ii *Vadam et revertar* . . . , et ea que ei promisit daturum in fine dierum, composuit librum hunc sub metaphora mulieris que derelicta est vidua a viro suo adhuc vivo et desiderat et suspirat reverti ad ipsum, et unitur ei per amorem, recolens amorem adolescentie sue. Sponsus etiam ipse comparatur ei in angustia ipsius, recordans misericordias adolescentie eius et pulcritudines eius et rectitudines operum eius, quibus coniungebatur ei amore forti, ut per hoc notificet ei quod non ex corde humiliavit eam, nec repudiavit eam simpliciter, immo adhuc ipsa est uxor eius et ipse vir illius.'

² Fo. 114^d: ' . . . et ego dico quod hec omnia sunt impleta spiritualiter quantum ad Iudeos ad Christum conversos et adhuc spiritualiter complebuntur quantum ad Iudeos in fine mundi convertendos.'

New. In his *Postillae* on the Psalter, and on most other Old Testament books, Lyre goes back to the old system of giving a spiritual exposition, sometimes very fanciful, parallel to the literal. Trivet, as we saw, had already abandoned this. The celebrated Lyre was therefore more old-fashioned than some of his predecessors, both in his interpretation and in his method. As to his rabbinic sources, they had been in common use since the twelfth century. Was he even, as is often said, the first Christian commentator to quote Rashi explicitly? William de la Mare had referred to Rashi's explanation as the *perus*. It would not be at all surprising to find references to 'Rabbi Salomon' in some of the unexplored glosses of the late thirteenth century.

Trivet and Lyre mark a point at which even the sketchiest outline of medieval Bible study must end. Biblical scholarship, in the twelfth century, had consisted mainly in the study of the Vulgate, which was still quoted as the 'Hebrew truth', because St. Jerome had given it this name. Rumours of the original came 'from far away', through the medium of conversations with rabbis. It was impossible to describe the study of the Vulgate without a reasonable knowledge of the *Gloss* which went with it. Until one knew, at least roughly, who prepared and who first quoted the *Gloss*, and what purpose it served, one could not say anything useful. Now the thirteenth century introduces a fresh problem and one has to begin all over again. The 'Hebrew truth' is no longer the Vulgate but the available Hebrew manuscripts. After their exile and their long wandering, scholars have entered into their promised land.

The next chapter must tell the story of their settlement. One cannot approach it without knowing more of their equipment and organization for the study of Scripture in the original. What were their current aids to study, their grammars and glossaries? How far was Hebrew taught in the schools? We know next to nothing of this at present.¹ Being more technical, it will require an even longer investigation than the *Gloss* question.

The problem which naturally arises from the present survey is: Why did 'the original' generally mean Hebrew to

¹ The Council of Vienne in 1312 ordered that schools should be set up for the study of Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, and Chaldean. See A. G. Little, *Studies in English Franciscan History* (Oxford, 1917), 216-18; and Rashdall's *Universities*, op. cit. (p. 162, n. 2), iii. 161-2 on the very scanty evidence for the carrying out of the decree.

the medieval scholar? Why was it so seldom Greek? Why should the Hebrew have had a monopoly of 'truth'?

An easy explanation for the comparative neglect of Greek is physical. The scholars of northern Europe had Hebrew teachers and books on the doorstep, whereas Greek studies involved danger, inconvenience, and great expense. But as Bacon said, the journey to southern Italy would be worth it if one were determined. No obstacles of space or language had prevented the reception of Aristotle from the Arabs. A negative reason fails to account for that 'passion' for Hebrew which perplexed and rather distressed Paulin Martin. There is no doubt that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Hebrew exerted a much greater fascination than Greek.

Though the whole explanation probably lies deep in medieval psychology, we can understand it to some extent. It was not that scholars were more interested in the Old than the New Testament. But their approach to the latter was theological and devotional. It could hardly be a subject of scholarly research when no new source of information about the life of our Lord and the Apostles presented itself.¹ Nobody would have thought of questioning the Arabs or the Byzantines. On the other hand, in their midst were a people who used the language of Moses and observed the Law, who had a vast store of traditions concerning Old Testament history. The medieval scholar recognized the contemporary German Emperor as a weak but lineal successor to Augustus Caesar. Naturally, then, he felt that his Jewish teachers were putting him in touch with the Patriarchs. Even so, he ought not to have neglected the Greek of the Septuagint. Here, perhaps, he was influenced by St. Jerome, who was his ideal among Christian scholars, and whom he interpreted as preferring the Hebrew. Both his native inclination and the patristic tradition persuaded him that his best guide to Scripture was the study of Hebrew and rabbinics.

The tendency was noted and deplored by Berger:

'Those very men whom we have found to be masters of Hebrew, scarcely surpassed mere beginners in Greek. And this was indeed unfortunate. The study of Hebrew was almost wholly given over to tradition; and in the Jewish schools that

¹ Research was sometimes enthusiastically undertaken; but it was apt to be barren. See M. R. James, 'The Salomites', *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxv (1934), 287-97.

method of interpreting Holy Scripture always flourished which had been received from the Fathers, that is, allegorical, unduly remote from the literal sense. The true Greek tongue knows no gloss and serves no authorities, and makes men free. And this was the reason why not Bacon, but Erasmus, inaugurated the new times.¹

The judgement of Berger needs qualifying. The Jewish tradition was more complex than he suggests. It included Maimonides as well as the Midrash. There were two sides to Rashi. Berger did not know that the literalist school of Rashi influenced Christian commentators through Andrew. A full history of biblical scholarship in the middle ages, in its strength and its weakness, if one should ever be written, will have to take account of this.

¹ *Quam notitiam*, 58.

CONCLUSIONS

MIDDLE ages and Renaissance; old and new: have these expressions any meaning as applied to medieval Bible studies? We must forget this conventional division, together with the heralds, the dawns, the wanings and the afterglows which blur its impossible sharpness of outline, and try to see the subject apart from them. We have found a series of revivals, each marked by the reception of fresh material.

The Carolingian revival, an extension to the continent of the earlier Anglo-Saxon, signifies, in biblical studies, the rearrangement, comparison, and discussion of the Latin Fathers, with exceptional attempts to tap other sources, the Greeks and the Jews. The second phase consisted in the study of classical works on grammar, rhetoric and dialectic, and their application to Scripture. Since this coincided with a revival of theological discussion in the eleventh century, the exegete tended to fix his attention on doctrine at the expense of scholarship.

Doctrinal exposition continues throughout our period; but it is supplemented by a third kind of study beginning in the early twelfth century. In this third phase, Bible study draws its inspiration from a fresh reading of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and St. Gregory. It has two elements: the spiritual interpretation, which conveys mystical and religious feeling and teaching; the literal interpretation, which signifies an interest in biblical history and in the original form and meaning of the sacred text. It leads to the study of Hebrew and rabbinic traditions and to contact with the contemporary school of Rashi. A new literal, historical method in the exposition of the Old Testament appears. The masters of Paris teach and develop all three forms of interpretation: doctrinal, literal, and spiritual.

The fourth phase begins with the reception of Maimonides and the philosophic works of Aristotle. At the same time a new popular mysticism has superseded the spiritual exposition, leaving the literal interpretation free to develop itself. The 'letter' shakes off its cramping connexions and ceases to be a mere foundation for doctrine and homiletics. It now has its own foundation of biblical scholarship, on which a new science can be built. The twelfth century rediscovered

biblical scholarship; the thirteenth century rediscovered exegesis.

Inspecting this scheme, we perceive that the 'consummation' or 'flowering' of the Latin patristic tradition, and its contact with the Jewish equivalent, happen in the twelfth century. This is the 'typical' century for medieval exegesis. It is most promising and pleasing at St. Victor, about 1120-70; whereas the swollen complexity of a gloss by Langton reminds one of some animal about to produce a litter, her young all perfectly formed and alive inside her.

The thirteenth century is untidy by comparison. It has lost the unity of the twelfth. Swift but steady progress in technique; in ideas, the queer exaggerations of decadence, together with something which is neither renaissance nor revival, but simply birth. Both Richard and Andrew of St. Victor had apologized for their originality. The disciples of St. Thomas Aquinas gloried in his.

The historian of biblical studies can see a definite change of aim and method in the second half of the thirteenth century. His next problem is whether this change brought progress or sterility:

' . . . The school of literal exegesis from the time of St. Thomas to the beginning of the nineteenth century really stands isolated, a mere academic exercise. It knows little history, and still less philology.'¹

This judgement by a great modern scholar is quoted here with a discreet question mark, as it lies outside the present study.

Some interesting facts emerge from the history which we have been following. First, the part played in it by Englishmen: Bede and Alcuin, Stephen Langton, Robert Grosseteste, Roger Bacon, William de la Mare, Nicholas Trivet. For Andrew we have an unverifiable statement by Bale and my own personal impression; but we know that he lived in England as an abbot; that his works were copied and studied in England; that one of them survives only here. England did not produce the leaders, Hugh of St. Victor and St. Thomas, who worked out theories of biblical studies. She did produce, or support, the most outstanding of the biblical scholars.

It seems that Englishmen have always preferred a concrete

¹ M. J. Lagrange, *Historical Criticism*, op. cit. (p. xi, n. 4), 123.

thing, such as a text, to an abstract idea, and have always had a love for the past as past and for the old and remote:¹

‘. . . dry are all the roads, grey are the highways; the sea swept aside, the ancient foundations, which never before in the world have I heard of men faring over, shining fields, the buried sea-bottoms, which hitherto the waves have always covered. . . .

‘. . . the foamy-bosomed one smote the guardian barriers, the unavailing wall, with an ancient sword. . . .’²

The Anglo-Saxon poet of *Exodus* raises a suspicion as to why English piety and learning found so congenial an outlet in biblical scholarship. That they did so is significant for the later history of the Bible in England. There seems to be a continuous sequence from Andrew, Grosseteste and the glossator of the Lambeth Psalter, through the fourteenth-century English Benedictine, Adam Easton, who is said to have translated the whole of the Old Testament except the Psalter from Hebrew into Latin,³ and the various translators into English, to the Yorkshire shoemaker’s son, Benjamin Boothroyd, who left his village school at the age of six, ‘able to read both Testaments’, learnt Hebrew and published ‘a new family Bible, and improved version, from corrected texts of the originals’ (1824).⁴

The second fact arising from the survey is the part played by religious. They always claimed, against the seculars, that the Bible could be understood best in the cloister. If the ‘understanding’ refers to a subjective spiritual interpretation, our opinions will differ. The apostolic prelate described by Langton will have more appeal, for some people, than the rapt contemplative of St. Bernard’s *Sermones in Cantica*. But we cannot deny that the new scientific movements in exegesis began in newly founded religious orders, the Victorine, Dominican, and Franciscan. The secular masters, rather than the religious, paved the way for the theological and philosophical achievements of the thirteenth century. All they did for biblical studies was to prepare and standardize the *Gloss*, later on to adapt and practise the new methods and to make technical improvements, for instance a standard

¹ See J. R. R. Tolkien, ‘Beowulf: the Monsters and the Critics’, *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1936), 27–9.

² *Exodus*, trans. R. K. Gordon, *Anglo-Saxon Poetry* (Everyman), 128–30.

³ W. A. Pantin, ‘The Defensorium of Adam Easton’, *English Historical Review*, li (1936), 676–7.

⁴ *Dict. Nat. Biogr.* v. 392–3.

chapter division: useful work, but uninspired. When the enthusiasm which the Victorines communicated to the secular masters of the biblical moral school had burnt itself out, biblical studies declined at Paris until the friars came to revive them.

And yet an 'other worldly' philosophy had hindered the development of Bible studies:

'Plotinus our master, the philosopher, seemed ashamed of being in the body. So deeply rooted was this feeling that he could never be induced to tell of his ancestry, his parentage, or his birthplace, or to sit to a painter for his portrait.'¹

The sacred text, conceived as body and soul, letter and spirit, had narrowly escaped from being forced into the role of Plotinus. It was rescued by St. Augustine, who stressed the historical character of Christianity, and by St. Jerome, who diverted his love for rhetoric to scholarship. The letter of Scripture won a right to toleration. Its interpretation gained in precision with each increase in contemporary objectivity and humanism.

The development of the doctrine of transubstantiation gave a fresh historical reality to Old Testament 'figures' in rite and prophecy. Interest in world history stimulated interest in biblical. Although the Platonist movement at Chartres did not affect Bible studies directly, the feeling for natural beauty which went with it probably influenced the Victorines and helps to explain their sudden pleasure in the letter. The Scriptures were still *pulchre lucentia*, translucent to the divine light; they were now also *tactu placentia*,² to be expounded with detached sensuousness. The letter intrigued and delighted; the spirit edified. The Victorines worked in a peculiar climate, sunny, clear and cool, except for Andrew, who was less level-headed than his colleagues.

In the thirteenth century, devotion to the earthly life of Christ continued the process which devotion to his bodily presence in the sacrament had begun. St. Francis preferred the literal sense of the Gospel to the spiritual sense of the Old Testament. Then Aristotle, in his new role as a doctor in Christendom, integrated letter and spirit as he integrated the

¹ Porphyry, *On the Life of Plotinus*, i, quoted by F. A. Wright, op. cit. (p. 5, n. 1), 321.

² The two sensory qualities in beautiful objects especially noted by St. Bernard for condemnation. See W. S. Hecksher, 'Relics of Pagan Antiquity in Mediaeval Settings', *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, i (1938), 212-13.

human personality. St. Albert and St. Thomas achieved for the literal interpretation what poor Andrew, no philosopher, entangled in out-of-date philosophic clichés, had instinctively wanted to do. The study of Scripture became the study of the sacred writers. The scholars, like the first simple Franciscans, went back, in their own more sophisticated manner, to such original sources as they could find. Their passion for Hebrew in studying the Old Testament corresponds to a more practical, close and intimate reading of the New.

The 'peculiarity of the "Christian myth" which disconcerted Celsus, the impossibility of sublimating it into a "physical law", its incorrigible and unabashed concreteness',¹ these attributes of Scripture had been slow to penetrate Christian interpretation. They conquered it at last, through the instrumentality of the Friars Minor and the Friars Preachers.

A. E. Taylor, *The Faith of a Moralist*, ii (London, 1930), 328.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV, II AND IV

Passages from Andrew's Commentaries referred to or quoted in Translation and not given in the Footnotes.

NOTE. These passages are not edited but are transcribed in each case from a single MS., and only the more obvious sources have been noted. Some account of the MSS. used has been given above, pp. 146-9. The passages are placed in the order in which they have been quoted, with cross references.

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P. 94: PROLOGUE TO THE PROPHETS

MS. Maz. 175

Tenebrosa aqua in nubibus aeris. Tenetur quodammodo mentis fo. 93^a
acies et quasi quibusdam tenebris obducitur, ne fructiferas
sapientie salutaris irrigationes in obscuris prophetarum verbis
perspicere valeat. Verum eius, qui de tenebris lumen splendescere
dixit, non invalida manus est, quando et per quos placuerit, his 5
quoque nonnullam lucis portiunculam tenebris infundere
cecipientesque cordis oculos, immissis intelligentie radiis, illu-
strare et in perspicacitatem revocare. Potens est quidem, sed
nichilominus pro ingenita benignitate munificentissimus est
Dominus. Quicumque¹ sit qui postulet et accipere velit, desidera- 10
bilem sapientie fulgorem quasi aquas maris effundet.

Ipsa quoque lux sapientie dilectoribus se suis offert et ultro sui
studiosis occurrit. Parum dixi; sed et beat[it]udinis premium iis
qui ad postes hostii sui mane pulsaverint, et eterne vite felicitatem
[iis] qui ipsam elucidaverint, fideliter pollicetur. Cuius spe 15
pollicitationis gratanter illecti et suaviter attracti, quodque verus
recte factorum, etiam si omnis aliorum spes premiorum exclusa
sit, fructus est recte fecisse, nichil rectius a rationali creatura
quam cognitione veritatis invigilare debere fieri, non mendaciter

¹ MS. qui tm̄.

l. 1. Ps. xvii. 11. ll. 2-3. *Gloss* in loc.: i.e. obscura est doctrina in prophetis.
l. 4. 2 Cor. iv. 6. l. 7. Cp. the first verse of the sequence 'Veni,
Sancte Spiritus', . . . Veni, lumen cordium.

arbitrantes, laborioso quidem sapientie studio, laborioso sed iocundo, sed frugifero, sed salutifero, huic, inquam, huic et iocundo labori et laboriose iocunditati nos totos mancipavimus.

Sane quoniam ad eam que in elucidatione sapientie consistit
 5 diligentiam, arduam quidem et firmamenti splendorem cultoribus suis conferentem, multorum quoque etiam posterorum usibus servientem, nostre nos exilis vene tenuitas aspirare non permittit, vel eam vilioris vene secunde que neque foris et in plateis vocem dare neque in capite barbarum clamitare, suis diffidens
 10 viribus audet, totis nisibus apprehendere elaboremus. Est quodam prodire tenus si non datur ultra. Insani capitis es quia efficere non potes quod vis, si nolis quod possis. Non penitus inutilis est qui vel sibi utilis est.

Si quando tamen non nostris freti viribus, que satis tenues,
 15 immo que fere nulle sunt, sed de divine miserationis opitulatione presumentes, illam, illam excellentem et supereminentem, quam prefati sumus, diligentiam aggressi fuerimus, nemo nos ea vanitate captos existimet ut vel novorum auctores librorum vel aliorum doctores haberi desideremus. Absit ut usque adeo desipuerimus
 20 quatinus nosmetipsos non metientes¹ et ad que attingere non possumus extendentes propriarum metas virium excedamus, cum potius sit solide subsistere in se quam inaniter rapi supra se. Bene nobiscum nostrique similibus agitur si quos legimus et audimus totos in nos transfudimus.

25 Meticulosus es fugitansque periculi; docere ne presumas; tutius enim audies. Mollior es et enervior impatiensque laborum; positus pugillaribus et calamo, aliena legere contentus esto. Noveris tamen neque strenui militis esse periculum omne fugitare neque viri laborem formidare. Qui labori subeundo
 30 cervicem et humeros avertit, consequenter et que ex eo commoda
 fo. 93^b se|quuntur non apprehendit. Dignitas, honor, gloria, exercitatio, probatio, patientia et innumera huius generis laborem sequuntur, quibus omnibus merito privatur quisquis laboribus adversatur. Sicut a nullo fructuoso quidem opere laboris metus nos absterret,
 35 sic utinam vel imperitia vel virium diffidentia non avocaret.

Proposui sicut olim super Pentateuchum et Iosue et Iudicum et Malachim ita et nunc, magis ope divina quam viribus fretus, aliquam explanatiunculam super obscura prophetarum scripta cudere, sed alta illius abissi profunditas et intricata perplexitas et
 40 subitanea tam personarum quam rerum varietas summam operi manum imponere diffidentem paulominus a proposito revocarunt.

Quid, tu inquis, nichil mussitationes, nichil obliquos morsus,

¹ MS. mentientes. MS. Vat. Lat. 1053, fo. 151^d metientes.

ll. 8-9. Prov. i. 20. ll. 10-11. Hor. Ep. i. 1, 32. l. 22. This seems to derive from a saying which Hugh of St. Victor ascribes to Plato, *Hom. in Eccles.*, P.L. clxxv. 122, but which is not in Plato's works.

nichil virosa livoris sibila, nichil bis quinos in displicientie signum
 utramque faciem scalpentes articulos, nichil naris subsanna-
 tiones, nichil oris perversiones vel attendis vel metuis? Attende-
 rem, certe attenderem, et invidiam metuerem, si quid invidiosum
 agerem. Si quid novum, si quid magnum, si quid invidia 5
 dignum scriberem, non immerito que supradicta sunt in his
 diebus malis formidarem. Non fastidiosis aliorum auribus et ad
 omnia fere preter antiqua surdescentibus que respuant intrudere
 laboro. Cogetur nemo munus habere meum. Michi ipsi vigilo,
 michi ipsi laboro; mee paupertati, que non potest semper pre 10
 manibus vel commentarios vel libros habere glosatos consulo,
 que in predictis sparsim diffuseque dicta sunt libris, ad historicum
 quidem spectantia sensum, summatim colligens et quasi in unum
 corpus succinte compingens. Postremo si quid vel in prophetis
 quibus precipuam ob nimiam eorum obscuritatem curam im- 15
 pendere decrevi vel in ceteris veteris instrumenti libris, vel
 Hebreis sive quibuslibet aliis pendentibus, et proprio labore vel
 divina revelatione, quia etiam in huiusmodi desiderium sibi
 servientium nonnunquam Dominus exaudit, investigare potui, ne
 quod utiliter apprehendit dampnose mentem fugiat, interserere 20
 visum fuit.

Si eum quem prophete habuerunt in scribendo nos in expo-
 nendo ordinem servare vellemus, ab Osee incipiendum esset;
 Principium enim loquendi Domino¹ fuit in Osee. Sed quoniam
 ipse aliis XI minoribus prophetis in uno volumine coniunctus est, 25
 simul cum illis exponetur. Ab Ysaia ergo, qui merito inter pro-
 phetas dignitatis et ordinis primatum obtinet, inchoantes et ab
 illo ad Ezechielem et deinde ad Ieremiam transeuntes, tandem
 Deo volente et vita comite, in XII exponendis summam operi
 manum imponemus. 30

Pp. 96; 108; PROLOGUE TO ISAIAH

MS. *Maz.* 175^a

Introitus Andree in Ysaia.

fo. 40^a

In explanando Ysaia, omnium quorum apud nos existit
 commendata scripto prophetia prophetarum nobilissimum, nisi
 forte contra quod scriptum est proverbium, acta ne agas, agere
 velimus, multum nobis temporis vigiliarum sollicitudinis atque 35
 sudoris necesse est. Siquidem XVIII explanationum libris, vir
 litteratissimus, et omnium contemporaneorum suorum doctissi-
 mus, sanctus presbyter Ieronimus, tanta illum diligentia involuta
 queque et implicita patenter evolvens et explicans elucidavit, sic
 studiosis et ingenii acumine pollentibus reddidit, ut, ne quid 40
 aliud dicam, otiosi et acta agentis, vel temerarii potius et

¹ MS. Dominum.

l. 9. Ovid, *Ex P.* iii. 6. 58. l. 24. Osee i. 2. l. 34. cf. Terence *Phormio* 419.

presumptuosi et vehementer arrogantis esse videatur illi quam diximus expositioni aliquid addere vel opus quod exponit, aliter exponere. Si ibi quelibet exponenda sufficienter exposita sunt, si quid addideris non inmerito in superfluis reputabitur. Dicere
 5 aliquid minus ibi esse, vel aliter quam debuit, quid aliud est quam tanto talique viro liquido derogare? An forte nobis posterioribus aliquid revelatum est, quod non illi priori, ut nobis loquentibus taceat? Aut forte perspicacius et acutius, utpote iuniores qui sunt perspicaciores videntes mentis acie quo ille non potuit,
 10 penetramus? Hec et huiusmodi de se supra id quod sentit in se arroganter existimare, quid aliud est quam ventos pascere et sibimet ipsi verba dare?

Que pauca ex pluribus prelibavimus, et cetera eiusdem generis, satis superque, ne quid post beatum Ieronimum quod ad exposi-
 15 tionem Ysaie pertineret auderemus, perterrere nos poterant, nisi quia et ipse, post tantos et nostros et precipue Grecos viros, iudicio omnium eruditissimos, qui sicut ipse testatur in Ysaiam plurima conscripserunt, in eundem prophetam explanationis libros scribere incepit et perfecit. Miratur pre omnibus Origenem,
 20 et magnis eum usque ad celum extollit preconii, nec tamen post illius dubitat et suam in Ysaiam apponere explanationem, nec quicquam in ea re vel ipsi vel ceteris prophete eiusdem explanatoribus iniurie inferre se iudicat, nec ad aliorum minorationem spectare existimat si sacrorum reseratione eloquiorum depromit
 25 quid sentiat. Sed nec acta agere, nec superfluo labore se sudare reputat si post maiores suos in Ysaiam commentariorum libros scriptitat, presertim cum nec ipsi quecumque dicenda essent in predicto propheta ad unguem usque persecuti sunt, nec ipse, tanquam in eorum verba iurasset, illorum penitus vestigiis in-
 30 hereat. Si otiosum vel temerarium vel presumptuosum esse post patres, qui explicandis evigilaverunt scripturis, ei rei veritatis investigande gratia studium et operam adhibere iudicaret, nunquam vir sapiens, industrius, et bonus, et qui bene meminisset scriptum esse: temporis parce, tantam huic studio operam im-
 fo.40^b35 penderet, totamque in eo | etatem consumeret. Novit certe, novit vir eruditus, novit, inquam, et optime novit quam abstrusa sit veritas, quam alte subsederit, quam procul a mortalium oculis se in profundum demerserit, quam paucissimos admiserit, quanto labore ad eam penetratur, a quam paucis vel potius
 40 nullis ad eam pervenitur, quam difficiliter et minutatim eruitur. Sic se tamen obstitit et occultavit ut non penitus lateat. Sic a diligenter querentibus invenitur, ut item si diligenter quesita fuerit inveniatur. Nemini tota contingit; particulatim, et ut ita dictum sit, frustratim eruitur. Sic eam invenerunt parentes et
 45 avi, ut nepotibus et filiis superesset quod invenirent. Sic semper queritur, ut semper supersit quod queratur. Sic semper invenitur,
 1. 8. Priscian, *Institutiones Grammaticae*, ed. Hertzius, i. 1.

ut semper supersit quod inveniatur. Non est ergo quippiam derogare, non est presumere, non est perperam agere, non est otiosum vel superfluitas, quia maiores nostri in sancti expositione eloquii veritatis indagationi vacuaverunt, eiusdem investigationi in scripturarum explanatione nos minores invigilare, venerabilem 5 itaque Ieronimum, licet impari pede sequentes, eiusdem explanationem nostre qualicumque non inmerito preponentes, in veritatis inventionem, cui et ipse, et ubi totis viribus elaborabimus, lectoris arbitrio relinquentes utrum aliquid, vel non, laborando profecerimus.

10

Hec hactenus: nunc ad rem redeamus. Ad commendationem sequentis operis plurimum valet si precognita fuerit laudabilis vita ipsius auctoris. Auctorem enim huius operis VII sunt que precipue nobilitant: generis nobilitas, eloquentie urbanitas, officii dignitas, regie domus affinitas, morum honestas, laudabilis 15 propositi constans et firma stabilitas, postremo commendabilis vite sanctitas. Quod nobilis et de regia stirpe oriundus fuerit, filia eius, si vera est Iudeorum traditio, regi Manasse filio Ezechie regis Iude connubio iuncta, evidens est argumentum. Eloquentiam et eloquii urbanitatem ipse subsequens tractatus patenter 20 indicat. Officii dignitas in eo quod propheta est consistit, sed et patrem eius prophetam fuisse, quod nomen eius in principio prophetie ipsius ponitur manifeste declarat. Qualiter vero regie domui per affinitatem coniunctus erat, ibi dictum est, ubi filiam eius regi nupsisse monstravimus. Honestatis morum et sanctitatis 25 vite ipsius patens indicium est quod Dominum, sicut ipse scribit, videre meruit, quod labia eius carbone de altari manu seraphim allato purgata, ad summam; quod ipse servum illum esse suum testatus est dicens: sicut ambulavit servus meus nudus et discalciatus, etc. Quam constans et firmus et stabilis in proposito 30 veritatis manifestande, quam confidens in enuntiandis cladibus futuris, tam principibus quam populis, tam regibus quam sacerdotibus, tam terris et nationibus quam opidis et urbibus et municipiis et viculis fuerit, | mors eius ipsa, et metuenda plus fo. 40^o morte tormenta, luce clarius edocuerunt. Traditur enim ab 35 impio Manasse, qui Ierusalem a porta usque ad portam sanguine implevit prophetarum, serra sectus lignea, eo quod mala que Iudee superventura, Domino revelante, didicerat, confidenter enuntiaverat. Pro iustitia, iuxta viri sapientis preceptum, usque ad mortem agonizans, et impietati usque ad sanguinem viriliter 40 resistens, voluit per exquisita supplicia et inaudito mortis genere, loquendo veritatis gratia, laudabiliter vitam perdere,

l. 14. St. Jerome, *Prol. in Is.* (see *Gloss* in loc.): vir nobilis et urbanae eloquentiae.
 ll. 18–19. Pseudo-Jerome, *Quaest. Hebr. in Par.*, *P.L.* xxiii. 1399: Tradunt Hebraei eundem Manassens filium fuisse filiae Isaiae. . . .
 ll. 27–8. *Is.* vi. 6. ll. 29–30. *Is.* xx. 3. ll. 35–7. St. Jerome, *Com. in Is.* xv. lvi, *P.L.* xxiv. 546, and in *Gloss Is.* lvii. 1.

quam falsitati cedens turpiter retinere et, omisso quod a Domino acceperat officio, transitorie metu mortis veritatem tacere.

P. 98: PROLOGUE TO EZECHIEL

MS. Bibl. Nat. Lat. 14432

fo. 37^c Nostris longe viribus impar, ut parcissime loquar, nimis audacter et presumptuose, ne dicam temerarie et impudenter, 5 opus aggressi fuisset, in Iezechielem libros explanationum scriptitare, si nostra et non illius qui infirmos fortes facit ope freti, tante difficultatis laborem, tamquam arduum et ineluctabilem summis etiam ingeniis, subiissemus. Illius inenarrabilis benignitas qui, despecta contumacium et elatorum arrogantia, dat 10 humilibus gratiam, qui rudibus et imperitis in se confidentibus affluenter aspirat sapientiam, nostre humilitati, ruditati et imperitie tanti conaminis prestat fiduciam. Hoc duce, ignote regionis et invie, cecam et occultam perventionis, tamen prope ducem qui dat in mari viam et in aquis torrentibus semitam, non 15 diffidentes viam carpinus. Sic ubi rectum explanationis iter incessemus, ducis peritiae, sic ubi erratum fuerit, nostre devianti ascribatur imperitie.

Hystoricam egregii doctoris Ieronimi expositionem nostre qualicumque, sicut in ceteris operibus nostris premittentes, quod 20 Dominus inspirare voluerit, nostreque labor industrie vel a se vel aliunde mutuari potuerit, ad communem legentium utilitatem in unum, Domino iuvante, conferemus. Eadem causa utramque explanationem commiscuimus ut pro suo eligat arbitrio lector quod magis placuerit.

P. 101: COMMENT ON DAN. vii. 7-8: . . . *et habebat cornua decem.*

MS. Pembroke, Cambridge 45

25 Quod pro cornu accipi debeant reges in sequentibus, ipso fo. 125^a dicente angelo, instruimur; quod X simul reges Romanorum regnaverint actenus visum non est. At dicat aliquis: Esto quod simul in eo nunquam tot reges fuerint; per successionem multo plures, de quorum numero X, qui forte inter ceteros eminuerunt, 30 illa X bestie cornua significant. At littera sequens nos ad hoc assimilare confugere non permittit. Persequamur igitur sequentia, si quo tamen modo predicto tutari refugio valeamus pertemp-
tantes.

l. 14. Is. xliii. 16.

l. 27. St. Jerome, *Com. in Dan.*, P.L. xxv. 531: . . . Ergo dicamus quod omnes scriptores ecclesiastici tradiderunt: in consummatione mundi, quando regnum destruendum est Romanorum, decem futuros reges, qui orbem Romanorum inter se dividant, et undecimum surrecturum esse regem parvulum, qui tres reges de decem regibus superaturus sit. . . .

Considerabam cornua: decem cornua bestie attentius intuebar. *Et ecce cornu aliud parvulum ortum est de medio eorum*. Si parvulum istud cornu, aptum predictis, aliud fuit et de medio eorum ortum necesse, nec necesse est ut et illa iam fuerint, quando exortum est, et id XI^{um} bestie cornu sit. Quod id XI^{um} sit, inquires, negare, 5 cum a X predictis aliud sit, non possum; sed quod illa omnia, quando exortum est, fuerint, fateri non compellor. Potuit enim fieri ut post quorundam decessum, | quibusdam nondum exortis, fo. 125^b illud parvulum emergerit; ideoque dicam quod de medio cornu exortum sit, quia inter prima et ultima exurrexerit. 10

Iam nunc evasisse te credis, sed miserabile caput tuum decima nunc superinclinans obruet unda. *Et tria de cornibus primis evulsa sunt a facie eius*. Ecce tria cornua prima, et inter X maxima, a parvulo sunt evulsa. Erant, igitur, quando et illud erat. Necesse est itaque ut tu concedas, quandoquidem quod per successionem 15 sint stare potest, quod, diviso inter se regno, simul plures in Romano regnaturi sint. Si quis te casus discrimini eripuit, totusque nondum consumatus es, si quid forte habes, in medium licet ut proferas.

Nulli sum ereptus discrimini, qui nullum incidi, teloque tuo, 20 quod te tam valida in me contorsisse dextra putabas, nec punctus quidem sum, necdum confossus. Quod ut tibi melius appareat patienter queso ut audias, donec super hac re quid ego sentiam patenter aperiā. Decem reges in regno futuros Romano per X cornua significatos intelligo. *De medio eorum* i.e. in ipso tempore 25 regni eorum, et de inter ipsos, et in terra eorum, regem parvulum exorturum, et quoniam parvi vel nullius ponderis momenti in oculis illius de X, qui tunc regnum optinebit Romanorum, apparebit, contemptum iri, deinde, collectis in unum viribus, cum eo a quo contemptum est conflicturum, et contra eum 30 invaliturum, duosque alios, hoc interfecto, qui contra victorem creabuntur, invicem sibi succedentes ab eodem expugnandos et perimendos victoremque, tribus aliis regibus superatis, tot elatum et magnum victoriis effectum, totum eundem regnum occupaturum et optenturum, in Ierosolimis quoque cum Iudeis 35 templum reedificaturum et in eo, iuxta quod apostolus ait, tanquam ipse sit Deus, sessurum, et in diebus illius latam sanctorum et electorum persecutionem Dei et oppressionem, eo auctore, futuram, qualis non fuit ex quo | gentes esse ceperunt fo. 125^c usque ad illud tempus, ita ut in errorem inducantur etiam si fieri 40 potest electi, eumque tamdiu in regno floriturum quousque Dominus noster Iesu Christus oris sui spiritu impium interficiat.

En super hac re meam habes qualemcumque sententiam, que si tibi forsitan exsufflanda videatur, eam qui refellere paratus es, queso [ut] parcius agas. Facessant in me, facessant iniurie; sit 45

ll. 11-12. Ovid *M.* 11. 530: vastius insurgens decimae ruit impetus undae.

ll. 36-42. 2 *Thess.* ii. 4-8.

modus pene victo victum fuisse. Meminisse debes huius certaminis victoriam ex futuro pendere, nec satis posse constare quod ex eo gloria quod manat confusio, nisi cum rei adhuc future exitus declaraverit. Perge, igitur, si placet, et nisi sequentia vel
 5 aliquis canonice locus scripture reclamaverit, nos in nostro sensu habundare patiaris. Iam arma cominus congressurus arripueram, que de manibus supplicationis tue preces excusserunt. Non enim tantum nobis est te viribus superare ut tu nos humilitate superes. Nunc igitur, quoniam sic tibi placet, ad reliqua per-
 10 gamus.

P. 104: PROLOGUE TO THE PENTATEUCH

MS. *Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 356

fo. 1^a Difficile quod durum, quod grave, quod asperum est observatur, si nullum custodiendi premium proponatur, aut negligenti nullus pene timor incutiatur. Quod bene intelligens Moyses, cum dura et gravia legis mandata, aspera et pene importabilia
 15 Dei iudicia, rudi populo et Egyptiaca mollitia et multis deliciis fere effeminato traditurus esset, beneficia Dei et gratiam multiplicem, tum in ipsos tum in patres eorum, replicat, et plura adhuc eis bona in futurum conferenda promittit, malorum etiam que sibi non obsequentibus Deus intulit, recolit et que illaturus est
 20 non obsecuturis prescribit. Ut, igitur, multas et magnas divine gratie divitias enumerando, ad diligentiores legis, quam traditurus erat, observationem auditorum animos erigeret, seriatim ab ipso mundi exordio gratuita Dei beneficia, toti humano generi
 fo. 1^b et precipue illi populo | et eorum patribus collata, diligenter
 25 prosequitur. Inter que Dei beneficia quasi precipuum obtinet locum quod etiam celum hoc sidereum, et terram et cetera elementa eorumque ornatus, ad usum hominum et servitutem, divina gratia creare dignata est; et quoniam [ea] sola, que ad hominis usum et propter hominem facta sunt, prosequi intendit,
 30 ideo, de creatione mundi agens, angelorum creationem et eorum vel confirmationem vel lapsum in operis exordio penitus pretermittit; et ne rudi populo et ad multorum culturam deorum quam¹ in Egypto didicerat prono ad errores declinandi aliquam occasionem daret nullam Trinitatis mentionem operi suo mani-
 35 feste inseruit. Hanc eandem tamen personarum Trinitatem in omnibus Dei operibus ipsius ostendendo, in rebus ex nichilo creandis potentiam, in disponendis et gubernandis sapientiam, in sustentandis et fovendis benevolentiam, insinuare curavit.

¹ MS. quod.

ll. 35-8. Perhaps a verbal reminiscence of the sermon *De operibus sex dierum* attributed to Hugh of St. Victor in some MSS. (see MS. *Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 13422, fo. 66^v), *P.L.* clxxvii. 1087: *Potentia creat, sapientia gubernat, benignitas conservat.*

Solet queri: quomodo Moyses tanto tempore post conditi mundi scire potuit exordium? Non est mirum | si Spiritus fo. 10
Sancti gratia, que ei revelare potuit etiam futura, potuit revelare preterita, presertim cum nichil tam nostre subiacet cognitioni quemadmodum id quod preteritum est; quamquam non absurde 5
credi potest sanctos antiquos patres ipsumque Adam posterorum suorum memorie frequenti narratione, vel etiam scripto, cum hoc maxima divine laudis causa et nostri in ipsum amoris sit, mundi creationem mandare curasse, sic ad Moysi notitiam, qui eam diligenter investigare curavit, pervenire potuisset. 10

P. 107: COMMENT ON GEN. ii. 5-6

MS. *Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 356

Sequitur: *Omne virgultum agri necdum oriebatur in terra: omnisque herba regionis necdum germinabat.* Versus iste secundum veritatem fo. 11^a
Hebraicam a supradicto diversus est et capitalis sententie principium. Recapitulatis enim que superius dixerat, ab hoc loco que succincte superius transcurrit, ut quid quo die factum esset ostenderet, diffusius et evidentius explicat. Ea tamen precipue 15
diligenter exequitur que in communi hominum usu versantur, et a rudibus et minus capacibus animis percipi possunt. Quia, igitur, in opere tertie diei Deum dixisse dixerat: *germinet terra herbam virentem et afferentem semen et lignum pomiferum* etc., et subiungit: *et factum est ita*, nec qualiter factum sit ostendit, ne putaretur 20
usitato modo, quo nunc fit, fieri, qualiter hoc factum sit hoc in loco ostendit, dicens: *omne virgultum agri* etc.; et est sensus sic per negationem: nullum virgultum agri adhuc oriebatur in terra; nulla herba regionis adhuc germinabat, eo scil. | modo quo 25 fo. 11^b
postea factum est, sed divina operatione, quod in sequentibus ostendet. Duobus modis ista i.e. ortus virgultorum et germinatio herbarum nunc fiunt, natura viz. vel humana operatione. Neutro horum modorum hoc tunc factum fuisse demonstrat; et primum operationem nature removet dicens: *non enim pluerat Dominus Deus super terram*, deinde operationem humanam: *homo 30*
non erat qui operaretur terram. Continuatio: virgultum non oriebatur, herba non germinabat, usitato scil. modo, quia necdum pluvia erat nec humana operatio, quibus modis hoc fieri solet. Locus a partibus remotis: maxima propositio, unde partes absunt et totum abesse. 35

ll. 1-4. *Gloss. Prol. in Gen.* Sicut Paulus per revelationem didicit Evangelium, ita Moyses, docente Spiritu Sancto, conditi mundi exordium.

ll. 14-16. Bede, *Hexaemeron*, P.L. xci. 40: . . . possumus intelligere quia nunc apertius Scriptura voluerit explicare quomodo supra dixerit. ll. 19-20. Gen. i. 11. ll. 25-8. Hugh of St. Victor, *Adnot. in Pent.*, P.L. clxxv. 38: Quare nec opere naturae, sicut modo, nec opere artificis tunc provenirent incrementa rerum aperit dicens: *Non enim pluerat* . . . Bede, op. cit.
ll. 35-6. Boethius, *De top. diff.* iii, P.L. lxiv. 1197a.

Qui vero hunc versum scil. *omne virgultum agri usque nondum enim* per finem precedentis, in qua recapitulatio fit, translatione decepti faciunt, quicquid sex diebus texuerant uno momento retexere et quicquid multis versibus collegerant unius versiculi
 5 cauda dispergere compelluntur, et dum contra autentissimam scripture huius, que omnium divinarum prima est, auctoritatem,
 fo. 11^c ubi Deus omnia opera sua sex diebus fecisse et complevisse narratur et in septimo requievisse, apocriphi illius libelli qui Sapiaientia Salomonis intitulum freti testimonio, semel [*sic*]
 10 Deum omnia fecisse asserere conantur, multis difficultatibus implicantur. Quod Deus omnia simul creaverit, et quod sex diebus diversa operatus sit, hac ratione stare potest, quia simul omnia creavit in informi materia, que postea succedenter sex dierum operatione in propriam cuique formam redegit. Revera magne
 15 auctoritatis viri hanc opinionem ponunt. Nimirum non recte servata translationis veritas ad hoc sentiendum illos pertrahit et libelli quam supradiximus auctoritas. Esto quod Philo, auctor illius libelli, ita senserit, Moysen vero, huius operis auctorem, nusquam ita sensisse reperimus, nec secundum hoc quod alius
 20 sensit, sed secundum quod ipse sensit et prius narravit, postea recapitulavit. Recapitulatio enim brevis supradictorum a capite est repetitio. In recapitulationibus tamen quedam frequenter adduntur, sed que supradicta non destruant. Cum supradictum sit Deum omnia in sex diebus diversis fecisse, in recapitulatione
 25 dicere eum omnia simul fecisse, hoc non est supradictis aliquid
 fo. 11^d addere, sed omnia supradicta | penitus destruere. Denique si in recapitulatione hoc asseverare contendit, cur tertii diei opus tantum primi diei operationi adiungit, et non potius, adiunctis ceterorum dierum operationibus, dicit: *iste sunt generationes celi et*
 30 *terre, quando create sunt in die quo fecit Dominus Deus celum et terram,* et lucem et firmamentum et cetera omnia per ordinem?

P. 109: FROM THE PROLOGUE TO DANIEL

MS. *Pembroke, Cambridge* 45

fo. 111^a . . . In his omnibus et multis aliis, si diligenter attenderis, prudentiam eius vehementer admiraberis; parum dixi; obstupesces. Hec et multa alia, quibus preclare ornatus fuit, virtutum
 35 et gratiarum bona, divina semper preeunte gratia, in terra captivitatis et peregrinationis sue opes, facultates, pecunias, possessiones, purpuram torquem, regum amicitias, summos honores, magne dignitatis gradus, et immortalem gloriam, postremo honorificentiam et securitatem, illi pepererunt. . . .

ll. 1-18. See St. Augustine, *De Gen. ad Lit.* iv. xxxiii; v. xxiii, *P.L.* xxxiv. 317-18; Hugh of St. Victor, *De Sacramentis*, i. ii-v, *P.L.* clxxvi. 187-190.

ll. 17-18. St. Jerome ascribes Wisdom to Philo Iudaeus, *Prol. in Lib. Sap.* See *Gloss* in loc.

P. 110: COMMENT ON ECCLES. i. 1: *fili David . . .*

MS. C.C.C. 30

Hoc ad totius commendationem operis spectat, quod filius fo. 108^a
David, viri scil. sapientis et boni, fuisse dicitur. Sapientium
namque et magnorum filii virorum quasi hereditariam habere
videntur sapientiam, sicut econtra simplicium et ignobilium filii
idiote, et ne dicam insipientes, simplices et minus prudentes esse 5
solent. Hinc est quod in evangelio solam in salvatore nostro
carnis ignobilitatem attendentes, cum sapientiam et prudentiam
illius in respondendo et interrogando obstupescerent, admirantes
dicebant: Unde huic hec sapientia et prudentia? Nonne hic est
fabri filius? Nonne mater eius dicitur Maria et fratres eius 10
Iacobus et Ioseph et Symon et Iudas? Nonne fratres eius et
sorores omnes sunt apud nos? Unde ergo huic omnia ista? Et
scandalizabantur in eo, tanquam adversum rationem et nature
quodammodo repugnans videbatur ut in homine de tam sim-
plicibus et imperitis orto parentibus, et cuius fratres et sorores, i.e. 15
consanguinei et consanguineae, ut reliqui de plebe, simplices essent
et idiote, tanta esset sapientia et prudentia.

Propter operis itaque commendationem, ut diximus, quod ipse
esset filius David, quasi hereditariam habens sapientiam et
prudentiam, ipse operis auctor annect[er]e curavit. Frequenter 20
enim evenire solet ut sapientis filii, iuvante naturam industria et
industrie natura suffragante, sapientes sunt et prudentes. . . .

P. 113: COMMENT ON JEREM. i. 4-5

MS. *Pembroke* 45

Hucusque prefatio: non est intelligendum quod ante con- fo. 76^c
ceptionem, ut heretici quidam suspicati sunt, fuerit Ieremias,
quia Dominus dicit: *priusquam te formarem in utero novi te*, sed quod 25
prescierit eum futurum Dominus, cui necdum facta iam facta
sunt, et qui vocat ea que non sunt tanquam ea que sunt. Quod
autem sanctificatur in utero iuxta illud apostoli debemus accipere:
Postquam autem placuit ei qui me segregavit de utero matris
mee et vocavit per gratiam suam ut revelaret evangelium suum 30
per me ut evangelizarem gentibus. Iohannes quoque Baptista
sanctificatus in utero et Spiritum Sanctum accepit et movetur in
vulva, et per os matris loquitur. Quod autem dixit: *et prophetam*
in gentibus dedi te | illud vult intelligi quod in ipso propheta postea fo. 76^d
lecturi sumus, quod non solum Ierusalem sed et multis in circuitu 35
nationibus prophetaret.

Si autem idcirco Dominus dicitur novisse Ieremiam, priusquam

ll. 9-13. Matt. xiii. 55-7.

ll. 23-36. Verbal quotation from St. Jerome, *Com. in Jerem.* i. 1, P.L. xxiv. 682-3.

ll. 29-31. Gal. i. 15-16.

- in utero formaret, quia prescierit eum futurum, cum indifferenter tam bonos quam malos presciat futuros, quid est quod ad eum specialiter dicitur quod ad omnes eque pertinere potest? Sanctificatum esse in utero quomodo accipere possumus secundum
 5 illud apostoli: placuit illi qui me segregavit de utero matris mee etc. cum nequaquam apostolus dicat: qui me in utero sanctificavit, sed: qui me de utero matris mee segregavit, non video. Apostolus dici[t]: postquam placuit ei, Deo scil. qui segregavit, i.e. separavit, me de utero matris mee, i.e. de consortio synagoge,
 10 secundum illud: Segregate mihi Paulum et Barnabam in opus ad quod assumpsi eos, vel ad litteram de utero matris, postquam, inquam,¹ placuit ei qui hoc michi fecit, et postquam vocavit me per gratiam suam, ut revelaret filium suum in me, ut evangelizarem eum in gentibus, continuo non adquievi carni et sanguini
 15 etc. Hec littera, nichil in se dubitationis, nichil scrupulositatis habens, satis planam et perspicuam se legentibus offert. Nichil hic de sanctificatione ab utero dicitur, in quo verbo tota questio versatur, nisi forte segregationis verbum quispiam ad sanctificationem significandum sibi distorquere conetur: segregavit i.e. seorsum a grege aliorum hominum per sanctificationem constituit.
 20 Quod violenter esse distortum, omnibus claret. Sed et hoc nusquam me legisse recolo quod apostolus ab utero sanctificatus sit, quin potius ipse de se testatur dicens: Eramus et nos sicut ceteri ire filii natura. Beatum vero Domini Baptistam ab utero sancti-
 25 ficatum, secundum quod archangelus promiserat, credimus, quia Spiritu Sancto repletus in ventre matris in adventu Domini sui genitricis in gaudio exultavit, et per os matris prophetavit. De sancto autem Ieremia, nec ante ortum eius nec in ortu quicquam tale factum fuisse legimus.
 30 Quidam tam beati Iohannis quam Ieremie ab utero vel in
 fo. 77^a utero sanctificationem in originalis | peccati remissionem accipiunt, asserentes quod ceteris baptismi vel circumcisionis sacramento, illis utero inclusis divina collatum gratia. Ecce secundum
 35 istos planum est quod dicitur: antequam exires de utero *novi te*, sanctificavi te, i.e. ab originalis peccati labe mundavi te, sed adhuc questionis alterius nondum solutus nodus perdurat: quomodo scil., antequam in utero formasset, prophetam Dominus novisset, nisi forte dicatur quod priusquam eum in utero synagoge aliorum more formasset, iam illum per supradictam sanctifica-
 40 tionem illius filium noverat. Quidam, litterali magis more suo

¹ MS. unquam.

ll. 9-11. Probably from the *Gloss* on Rom. i. 1. Act. xiii. 2. l. 14. Gal. i. 16. ll. 23-4. Eph. ii. 3.

ll. 32-3. This view was sometimes put forward. See *Sententie Anselmi* (ed. Bliemetzrieder, Münster 1919), 89: Nam et Iheremiam in utero matris sue nullis sacramentis intervenientibus sanctificavit. But see St. Augustine *Contra Iul.* iv. cxxxiv, *P.L.* xlv. 1429: Quia et Ieremias et Iohannes quamvis sanctificati in utero matrum, traxerunt tamen originale peccatum.

sensui se applicantes, sic hanc litteram potius exponendam esse arbitrantur. In puerilibus adhuc annis constitutum, Dominus ad prophetandum ferocissimis prophetam gentibus et in manibus populi missurus, fiduciam et securitatem, ex collatis iam misericorditer beneficiis, ut in tempus omne futurum, prestat, quasi 5 diceret: Ne timeas, Ieremia, me tibi iam existenti aliquando ad opem ferendam deesse, qui nondum nato in conferenda sanctitate, nondum formato in cognitionis dignatione, propitius affui. Qua¹ pollicitatione fretus, cum statim in sequentibus datus propheta gentibus dicitur, solam que ex puerili etate inerat 10 eloquentiam excusat.

Nosse dicitur Deus aliquod duobus modis, vel in notitia habere, vel approbare, diligere, familiare habere. Secundum primum dicitur: Novit Dominus decipientem et eum qui decipitur. Secundum alterum Moysi dicit Deus: Novi te ex nomine; et 15 fatuis exclusis virginibus: Non novi, i.e. non approbo, non diligo, non familiares vos habeo. Nos quoque indignantes eis quos non approbamus sive despiciamus: Unde vel qui estis vos? dicere solemus.

Littera sic legitur: *priusquam te formarem in utero novi te*, i.e. ego 20 Dominus, for[m]ator tuus, in utero priusquam tibi humane fo. 77^b figure formam conferrem, *novi* i.e. approbavi, et tamquam notum et familiarem meum dilexi te apud me, cui futura facta, et iam existentem, cum nondum natus, immo nec conceptus, eras. Simile huic in apostolo legimus: cum nondum, inquit, nati 25 essent aut boni vel mali aliquid egissent, Iacob dilexi, Esau odio habui. *Et antequam exires de vulva sanctificavi te*; et approbationis mee et dilectionis dignatione, etiam cum adhuc intra materni vulvam uteri detinereris, tantam tibi contuli sanctitatem ut et nascentium portam egresso nichil nisi sanctum et mundum 30 placere potuisset. Ex hac sanctitatis collatione in perpetua virginitate creditur permansisse; *et prophetam in gentibus dedi te*; gratis et absque tuo merito prophetie gratiam inspirans, misi te ad prophetandum gentibus electione comprehensis.

P. 115: COMMENT ON EZECH. i. 1.

MS. *Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 14432

Aperiti sunt celi et vidi visiones Dei. Consequens est ut cui aperiun- 35 tur celi visiones Dei, que supra celum sunt, videat; et licet divine fo. 37^c maiestatis cuncta subiecta sunt oculis et cuncta cernentem Deum nichil latere possit, ea tamen precipue que supra celos sunt videre dicitur, sicut, quamquam ubique sit, in celis specialiter esse commemoratur. Aperitis itaque celis, Dei visiones se dicit vidisse 40

¹ MS. Quia.

1. 14. Job xii. 16. 11. 15-16. Exod. xxxiii. 12. 1. 16. From Matt. xxv. 12.
11. 25-7. From Rom. ix. 11, 13.

quia ea vidit que supra celos sunt, angelicas viz. virtutes, quas Dei non hominis est in sua ipsorum forma et natura videre; quoniam ea vidit que nullius aciei perspicacitas penetrare valet, celorum interpositione a nullo terrestri animante videri possunt, celos asserit apertos fuisse. Cum spiritualia sunt que visa sunt, nec a corporis unquam luminibus videri possunt, totam illam visionem spirituales fuisse perspicuum est. . . .

fo. 38^a Esse autem angelica et celestia spirituum administratoriorum corpora, licet eorum dimensiones, formas et qualitates nesciamus, diversis sacre scripture testimoniis, nisi alterius hoc esset negotii, facile probaremus. Divinorum scriptores eloquiorum hominibus in suis operibus loquentes, multa de iis que supra homines sunt secundum ea loquuntur que apud homines fiunt. Dicturus propheta se visiones Dei que supra celum sunt vidisse, quoniam apud nos [ea] que solidi cuiuspiam corporis interpositione a nobis disparantur, nisi reseratione vel ablatione, videre non possumus, apertos fuisse celos premittere curavit. Sic Isaias quoque, Domini celorum interpositione seclusi desiderans adventum, licet optime nosset eum ad terras integris posse descendere celis, humane tamen rationi condescendens et consuetudini, utinam, inquit, dirumperes celos et descenderes. Moyses quoque Dominum dixisse scribit: clamor Sodomorum venit ad me, descendam et videbo utrum clamorem opere compleverint, tanquam sine descensione qui omnia etiam antequam fiant videt hoc videre non potuisset. Multe sunt in scripturis huiusmodi locutionum urbanitates. Vel *visiones Dei* vocat futurorum revelationes, quas totum subsequens opus explicat, quas nisi divino munere et inspiratione vidisse non poterat. Huic sententie Hebraica veritas consonare videtur: *Vidi visionem a Deo*. Sensus est: quod vidi visionem, et intellexi quid vobis et his qui in terra remanserunt et urbi super-venturum est, non a me sed a Deo est. Quibus verbis et suam non ingrati humilitatem munus acceptum profitentis, et illos et iis que dicturus est tamquam divinitus inspiratis adquiescere debere patenter aperit. Secundum hanc sententiam apertio celorum quid aliud innuit nisi quod hoc celitus munus illi collatum fuit?

Si quis contendere voluerit apertos fuisse celos, ut per eos radius oculorum prophete directus Deum et que in superioribus fiunt videret, nos nichil impedimus quin in suo sensu habundaret; ipse tamen viderit an ratio rerumque natura fieri sinat quod asserere contendit. Sin autem ad hoc confugerit ut dicat non per naturam sed per divinam potentiam factum ut in terris homo positus ultra celos celorum aciem dirigat, scientes Deo nichil esse impossibile, nichil resistimus. Verumtamen in scripturarum

l. 7. Quotations from St. Augustine, *De Gen. ad Lit.* xii. xxiii-iv, which I have omitted. ll. 20-1. Is. lxiv. 1. ll. 22-3. Gen. xviii. 21. ll. 36-8 *Gloss* on Ezech. i. 1: Non divisione firmamenti, sed fide credentis, cui revelata sunt secreta coelestia; Secundum Originem oculis carnis.

expositione cum secundum naturam res de qua agitur nullatenus fieri potest tunc demum ad miracula confugienda noverit.

P. 130: COMMENT ON EZECH. ix. 2-11

MS. *Bibl. Nat. Lat.* 14432

Hebreorum quorundam est hec questio, quam ipsi sic solvere fo. 46^b conantur, si tamen solvere est arctius stringere et amplius implicare. Celestium quorundam spirituum hanc esse dicunt 5 naturam, ut iustitie semper gaudeant districtione, et voluntatem habeant ut Deus in omnibus secundum iusti districtiorem iudicii semper agat, nullum ad misericordiam habens respectum. Econtra sunt alii quibus natura mollior est animusque ad pietatem et misericordiam magis inclinatus. Quorum satisfaciens 10 voluntatis Dominus, ne totius omnino, sicut meruerat, deperiret populus, ut vel illis, qui super aliorum peccatis dolebant, parceret, precepit.

Cumque ab aliis admoneretur contra iudicii equitatem esse fo. 46^c illis parcere qui alios a malis non studuerant retrahere, ab ipsis, 15 quibus secundum quod prius fieri statuerat erat parcendum, ut inciperetur precepit. Videsne mutabilis error et insipiens iniquitas de irremutabili veritate et sapienti et clementi equitate quam temerarii affert iudicium? A misericordibus admonitus, prius misericorditer agere disposuit sed tamquam oblitus esset 20 iustitie, nisi ab immisericordibus admonitus esset spiritibus, a clementia et pietate ad districtam iudicii severitatem retractus est. Quod si verum est, immo quia verum non est, super nullius frontem signum quod scribi iussum fuerat scriptum est, nec alicuius misertum est, sed universos una strages involvit. Sed nec hoc 25 eorum insipiens impudentia fateretur. Cumque de mutabilitate voluntatis divine et memorie insufficientia, que monitoribus egeat, illis obicitur, non nichil respondere videntur. Sed cum de ipsius prophete verbis, que statim subiunguntur, illis opponitur, quomodo vir vestitus lineis habens atramentarium scriptoris ad 30 renes dicat: *feci quod precepisti mihi*, si super nullius frontem signum aliquod scripsit, cum hoc solum ut faceret illi preceptum sit, licet impudentissimi sint, obmutescunt. Quid opus erat huiusmodi frivolis et exsufflandis et a procul neniis in sacris presertim scripturis intendere et in propheticis enigmatibus enodandis 35 fabulas inducere? Dum errantium errorem insectamur aliquanto longius a proposito recessimus.

P. 135: COMMENT ON Is. li. 5; liii. 2-12

MS. *Pembroke* 45

Prope est iustus meus etc. Iustum et salvatorem suum i.e. quem fo. 70^b ipse daturus erat, vel Cyrum, vel secundum nos Dominum et

Salvatorem nostrum, vel secundum Hebreos suum messiam, intellige.

- fo. 71^b *Non est ei species, neque decor.* Ad illud tempus propheta recurrit quando hic idem populus gravi in Babylone captivitate premebatur, quando revera nullus erat ei neque decor neque species; *et vidimus eum*, ego et alii prophete, vel pluraliter propheta loquitur. *Et non erat aspectus*: quod male est quasi non esse dicitur, unde: Ne tradas sceptrum tuum his qui non sunt. *Et desideravimus eum*
- fo. 71^c quasi *despectum et novissimum virorum*; suspiravimus et doluimus
- 10 eum esse despectum et abiectissimum hominum. Quia suspiria desiderium elicit, *desideravimus* et pro *suspiravimus* non absurde legi potest. *Virum dolorum*: de populo agens tamquam de uno homine loquitur, quem vocat *virum dolorum* i.e. tribulationibus et miseriis, unde dolores, circumdatum et coopertum. *Scientem*, experientem
- 15 [*infirmi-tatem*], *absconditus*, qui [propter] obliquam feditatem abscondi solet. *Unde nec reputavimus eum*: quia sic *absconditus* et despectus *vultus eius*, nos etiam ipsi, pene desperantes de eo, numero hominum *non reputavimus*, i.e. populus [propter] nimiam abiecti-
onem vix se inter homines reputavit. *Vere languores nostros ipse tulit*; his verbis
- 20 innuit propheta quod populus qui in captivitate Babylonica affligendus erat, non solum sua sed et malorum luiturus erat peccata. Vere ille vir dolorum languores et dolores, quos ob nostra ferre debuimus peccata, portabit. *Et nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum*, etc.; propheta se illis connumerat, qui populum in
- 25 captivitatem iturum propter peccata sua captivandum et tanquam leprosum a populo Domini separandum, exigentibus peccatis suis, a Domino percutiendum et humiliandum fore putaverunt.¹ *Ipsae autem vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras*: sic nos putavimus, sed ipse vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras, et attritus est propter
- 30 *scelera nostra*: ipse flagellatus est et lividus factus, ut nos pacem haberemus et sanaremur; posteris, quibus castigatio illius pacem peperit, se connumerat. *Quasi oves* qui sine pastores sunt; *viam suam*, suam perversam; *posuit in eo*; peccata omnium nostrum in eo punivit. *Oblatus est quasi hostia quia ipse voluit*; quia ipsi
- 35 Domino sic placuit. *Non aperuit os*, i.e. ad contradicendum. *Sicut ovis*, non reclamans nec retinens. *De angustia et de iudicio sublatus est*; tandem, miserante Domino, *de angustia* i.e. mentis anxietate, et *iudicio* i.e. dampnatione sub Cyro, tolletur. *Generationem eius quis enarrabit*; etsi ita in captivitate et exilio et diminuto
- 40 futurus sit numero, | posteritatem eius quis enarrare poterit?
- fo. 71^d *Quia* completiva est. *Abscissus est de terra viventium*; abscidetur et abstrahetur de terra, pro qua in scripturis *terra viventium* dicitur; *populi mei*, prioris; *et dabit impios pro sepultura sua et divitem pro morte sua*; percussus non interibit, sed impii et divites, Babylonii
- 45 viz. increduli et divitiis occupati, in sepulturam et mortem pro

¹ MS. putavit.

eo dabuntur. Quod est dicere: illi parceretur et illi interibunt. Ipsum dicit daturum, quia causa quare dabuntur erit. *Eo quod iniquitatem non fecerit*; hoc pro parte bonorum; *sicut etc.*: huiusmodi que nisi solis convenire electis possunt, electis dicuntur. *Et Dominus voluit conterere eum in infirmitate*; etsi bonus, placuit Domino 5 in infirmitatibus carnis et multis molestiis, quibus caro infirmatur, illum affligere. *Si posuit animam suam pro peccato*; si patienter et equo animo *pro peccato*, non modo suo sed etiam alieno, *animam suam* affligi sustinuerit, qui de eo seminati fuerint longevos videbit. *Dirigetur*; directa erit et proficiet. *Videbit*; subaudi: quod videre 10 desideravit. Possumus dicere quod de tenebris tribulationis et carceris eductus lumen *videbit* et intelliget, i.e. intelligentie dono donabitur; *saturabitur*; omnibus terre bonis usque ad satietatem reficietur. *In scientia*, quam meo percipiet dono. *Dispertiam ei plurimos*; multos ditioni illius subiciam populos, et quasi in 15 donativum illi dispertiam. *Tradidit*; hoc non potest nisi de illis dici qui voluntariam prophetarum consilio, unde ut Ieconius et qui cum eo Babyloiiis se tradiderunt, transmigrationem subierunt; *in mortem*, angustandum duris velut mortis angustiis. *Cum sceleratis reputatus est*; pena sceleratorum in carceribus et ergastulis 20 et duris operum laboribus promitti et dampnari. *Pro transgressoribus rogavit*; pro illis de populo suo, qui legem Domini transgrediebantur, pars electior, ut in melius commutarentur, Dominum simpliciter rogabat. Quidam etiam Hebreorum totam hanc pericopem super Isaia interpretantur. 25

P. 137: COMMENT ON DAN. ix. 24-7.

MS. Pembroke 45

'Septuaginta septene indicte' vel 'imposite sunt super populum fo. 131^c tuum, et super urbem sanctam tuam, ad finiendam falsitatem, et confiniendum peccatum, et delendam iniquitatem, et adducendam iustitiam in secula, et ad implendam visionem et prophetiam, et ad unguendum sanctum sanctorum.' 30

Quoniam eam quam ab eruditissimis Hebreorum expositionem accepimus in hac operis parte ponere decrevimus, litteram etiam quam hic se habere dicunt ponere visum fuit. Quare potius per septenarium quam per alium quemlibet numerum de his annis, quibus in captivitate Babilonica populus captivus tenebatur, 35 agatur huiusmodi causam assignant: . . .

Et si cetera omnia in hac Iudeorum expositione huius tam fo. 132^d profundi scripturarum loci, in quo explicando nostrorum non minimum desudaverunt ingenia, licet inviti, probaremus, illud tamen non video quemadmodum approbare valeamus: quod 40 Cyro regi Persarum post Babilonem subversam in regno vel nullos vel paucos, cum et hystoriarum scriptores et philosophi, sicut supradictum est, illi XXX attribuunt annos. Cambisis filii et

successoris Cyri, qui secundum nos annos VIII regnavit, et Hesmeredes Magi successoris Cambisi, qui duos regnavit annos, nec meminerunt.

At dicat aliquis: canonicarum auctoritas scripturarum, cui
5 nec possunt nec debent adversari, alios Cyri successores fuisse dicere compellit. . . .

fo. 133^a Ecce sacra scriptura statim post Cyrum Assuerum ponit, et
huic, nullo interveniente medio, Artaxerxen adiungit; in tertio
Darium loco collocat. An istis regibus tacitis quos et sue et
10 canonicè nominant scripture, quarum scriptores eis contem-
poranei fuerunt, eorum quos nunquam legerunt recolent? Hoc
ab eis non exigimus ut suis presertim canonicis contraria loquan-
tur scripturis, quibus nos quoque nullatenus contraria loqui
volumus, vel ut eorum quos nunquam legerunt recolant, sed ut,
15 salva si fieri potest auctoritate, nostras suis traditionibus non
evacuent. Sic in hoc ancipite certamine congrediamur ut,
traditionem traditione non preiudicante, non victorie gratia
videamur contendere, sed investigande veritati invigilare.
Canonicis eque pro nostra et pro illarum parte stantibus scri-
20 pturis, [utrum] nostris vel illi vel nos illis magis accedant et
rationabilius procedant videamus; ac de LXX desolationis
Ierusalem annis, nisi initium et finem habere debeant, quoniam
questionis hinc incipit exordium, primum agatur. . . .

fo. 133^c Nobis videtur alios fuisse LXX annos quibus et Iudei et cetere
25 in circuitu gentes regi Babilonis et filio eius et filio filii eius
servierunt, et alios desolationis Ierusalem annos. . . .

Prudentia Danielis, primo Darii filii Assueri anno, cum iam
Babiloniorum potestas finita esset, tempus relaxande captivitatis
quod propheta predixerat iam iam adesse videns, nec iam
30 relaxari conspiciens, ad orandum et deprecandum Dominum
faciem posuit: hoc sane est dicere quod Daniele, virum sanctum
et bonum et sapientissimum omnium qui in terra morabantur, in
Ieremie prophete verbis errasse, et quod non intellexerat se
intellexisse putasse. Ecce Daniel et Esdras, alter quo nemo
35 sapientior vel melior, alter quo nullus in lege scriba velocitior,
in eo conveniunt quod in anno Cyri regis Persarum primo
relaxande captivitatis tempus, quod Ieremias predixerat, ad-
venerat.

Nos vero idem asserentes, si forte a recto itineris tramite
40 declinamus, magnis auctoritatibus erramus, et nescio an non
laudabilius et tutius sit cum istis et nostris maioribus, viris
ingenio et industria magnis, istos sequentibus, ut illi dicunt
errare, quam cum istis temporis nostri Iudeis, multo maiore
studio curantibus ut assis animus coacervetur, quam ut diligenti
45 scripturarum interpretationi invigiletur, rectam si illis credimus
viam ambulare. . . .

fo. 134^b His de LXX ebdomadibus breviter transcursis, ad huius operis

sequentia pergamus, LXX annorum septenas, quoniam secundum quod in nostra translatione habetur satis a nostris diligenter exposite sunt et assignate, [et] nos secundum quod apud Hebreos legitur, prout potuimus, eas exposuimus, iuxta translationem qua nos utimur intactas relinquentes. Nemo miretur si diversorum 5 sententias ponentes et eorum quibusdam in locis opinionem sequentes, nunc plures nunc pauciores quibusdam annis tribuimus.

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